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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

Vol. I, No. 4 Summer 1991

A READER ON PUBLIC ISSUES AND PUBLIC POLICY
IN THE INTER-RELATED FIELDS OF...

...HUMAN POPULATION AND ENVIRONMENT
...INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION
...LANGUAGE, ASSIMILATION, NATIONAL UNITY
...BALANCING INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS
AND CIVIC RESPONSIBILITIES

...ALL IN THE CONTEXT OF A SOCIAL CONTRACT.

THIS QUARTER'S THEME:
POLITICALLY CORRECT ON IMMIGRATION

Featuring Articles by
Katharine Betts
Gerda Bikales
Donald Kagan
Michael Novak

...with additional articles by
Frank Morris
Henry E. Catto, Jr.
Garrett Hardin
Dan Stein
Ira Mehlman

PLUS SHORT ARTICLES, BOOK REVIEWS, AND GLEANINGS FROM THE DAILY PRESS

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Just over two decades ago, concern over rapidly growing human population led to the development of the so-called "population movement" aimed at reducing the rate of population growth, both at home and abroad. At home, for a variety of reasons, birth rates fell sharply to sub-replacement levels. Immigration, however, grew steadily due, in significant measure, to the burgeoning population overseas. Today, human numbers world wide expand at about 10,000 per hour, a quarter of a million each day.

The combined circumstances of low birth rates and high immigration pressures pose for all the developed countries the three most fundamental questions of immigration policy:

1. How many of the millions who would like to come shall we admit?
2. Who will be chosen to immigrate, and what should the criteria be for choosing?
3. How shall we enforce the rules we decide upon?

THE SOCIAL CONTRACT seeks to explore and illuminate these questions, by publishing new material, and also by pulling together and reprinting existing works from many now-scattered sources. Our hope is to provide a periodical devoted to the inter-related topics of:

— **Human population** questions, including its absolute size, rate of growth, and distribution. In nations with low natural increase and high immigration, immigration is a significant component of population growth. (In an ideal world, policy on immigrant numbers would derive in large measure from an overall policy on population size.)
— **Immigration** policy, especially as it relates to the three basic policy questions mentioned above: how many, who, and how?
— **Language, assimilation, and national unity** considerations, which in large measure derive from and are driven by immigration and assimilation policies.
— **The balance of individual rights and civic responsibilities**, since, as with many issues today, population, immigration and language questions are often framed in terms of 'rights.' What is the proper balance of individual and community rights and interests?

Our method for approaching these connected issues is the time-honored concept of "The Social Contract." Most great public issues are basically moral and ethical ones: What is the right thing to do? How do we decide what we think is right? When 'rights' collide, which ones shall take precedence? The discipline of thinking through these issues in terms of a Social Contract allows one to achieve a balance: of individual and community interests; of the short and the long term; and of utopian idealism and the realities of the world we live in.

But most importantly, THE SOCIAL CONTRACT is not a detached forum for discussion in some backwater of life. Our issues are all in the forefront of public policy discussions in the United States, which is our primary focus. Our Editorial Advisors are drawn from many of the main organizations trying to influence the course of policy in the issue areas we have chosen. Our journal is one of the tools they use to raise questions, debate themes, and communicate ideas, all to encourage vigorous public debate and subsequent changes in our laws and public policies.

We invite you to join in this Great Debate by reading and contributing material to THE SOCIAL CONTRACT.

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THE SOCIAL CONTRACT

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POLITICALLY CORRECT ON IMMIGRATION

Editorial

When the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) was established in June 1979, Roger Conner, as first Executive Director, and I, as first chairperson, set ourselves a goal: to make immigration policy a legitimate topic of discussion among thoughtful people.

It clearly was not so at the time. The 1970s had seen a vigorous campaign to establish a population policy for the US. This was kicked off by the 1972 report of the Commission on Population Growth and the American Future, appointed by President Nixon and chaired by John Rockefeller 3rd. But during the 1970s US birth rates fell dramatically even as immigration rates were rising. Many of the people who were concerned about US population growth—when the problem was natural increase—could not bring themselves to deal with immigration as a source of growth. They moved on to other matters.

This experience led Mr. Conner and me to lay out three stages through which we would have to progress on the way to our goal of full and rational discussion of immigration policy:

1. *The Emma Lazarus/Statue of Liberty Phase.* In this phase any questions about immigration could be adequately answered by quoting Lazarus' famous poem, "Give me your tired, your poor..." That ended discussion! Fortunately, many people have passed through this primitive phase.

2. *The Caveat Phase.* In this stage thoughtful people begin to have some questions about immigration as a source of population growth, but feel the topic is not socially acceptable. As a result, the conversation starts with an apology or excuse: "I want you to know that I'm not a racist, but I've been wondering about the wisdom of this aspect of immigration policy..." In this connection, readers may wish to review Dr. Judith Kunofsky's article in the Spring issue of *The Social Contract* entitled "Why Limiting Population Growth Is So Difficult to Talk About in California" (page 140); and in this issue, Dr. Garrett Hardin's observation that "Nobody Ever Dies of Overpopulation," (page 197). We have been in this Caveat Phase for several years, and seem to be arrested there.

3. *The Mature Phase.* In this stage our hangups and guilt feelings have been dealt with and we are able to discuss immigration policy without having our motives or morals questioned. The taboos have been banished. I hope to live to see this stage.

As one effort to help move the discussion of immigration policy from Phase Two to Phase Three, we're pleased to present as our lead article in this issue of *The Social Contract* excerpts from *Ideology and Immigration: Australia 1976 to 1987.* The book is by Dr. Katharine Betts of the Swinburne Technological Institute located near Melbourne, Australia. What Dr. Betts calls the "ideologically correct" verities on immigration she has found in her country are astonishingly similar to those seen here. Perhaps we can learn about our own situation by studying that of others. Are there lessons from Australian immigration debate and can they be applied here?

Despite laudable efforts over the past decade to defuse the discussion of immigration, many people still feel uncomfortable with the topic. After all, we're here, we're rich, we're free. How can we say "No" to others not so favored? Is it a case of pulling up the gangplank now that we're in?

Fortunately, the choice is not so stark. As we contend in the Statement of Purpose inside the front cover, after all the hand-wringing and avoidance three fundamental questions about immigration policy remain:

- Of the many millions who would like to come, how many shall we admit?
- Who will be chosen to immigrate, and what should the criteria be for choosing?
- How shall we enforce the rules we decide upon?

Our journal is dedicated to helping all of us work our way through the jungle of "Yes, buts" and "What ifs" toward rational and humane answers to these three most fundamental questions of immigration policy.

John H. Tanton
Editor and Publisher

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Letters to the Editor

Editor:

The current issue of *The Social Contract* just arrived (May 22) and I started to read it. I couldn't put it down until I finished every article! You have selected excellent spokesmen, kept your selections timely, and covered many important aspects of the overall population problem without appearing to be rabid about anything.

There is far too much going on out there, far too few people to do all that should be done, and horrible public ignorance on most population subjects, especially on immigration, a subject about which few people are strong enough to speak up and say what they really think. The article by Judy Kunofsky was especially revealing in this regard. The Sierra Club has not had the guts to speak up forcefully on any aspect of population.

I note that Mayor Gourley of Culver City has raised his voice about the devastating effects of tax dollars laid out to support illegal aliens in Los Angeles County, dollars that should be used to support the present citizenry instead of encouraging others to arrive and feed at the public trough in the Land of Honey. Long may he wave, and may he encourage others to go forth and do likewise.

Keep up the good work!
Allen Jamieson
Sacramento CA

Editor:

Not marching in step with *Borders and Quaker Values*, which appears in your Spring 1991 issue, would be like turning your back on motherhood, duty to father and love of one's children. But like the above homilies, the article, while articulating intelligent principles, is much too abstract. Reality is something else when it comes to borders, often the embodiment of much nonsense that passes for patriotism in most countries, the United States included.

The 'principles,' if that is what they are, would be much stronger if they dealt with the specifics of American border 'questions.' I refer, for example, to those between Mexico, a poor and blighted Third World country, and rich, imperialistic United States. That border is not merely two thousand miles long, but the biggest border between extremes of dire poverty and gross affluence. The flood of Mexicans who daily cross into California testifies to the disparity between these two nations. That disparity, furthermore, is not merely a border problem, for it stems partly, if not to a great extent, from the unjust and unequal economic relationship which American capitalists and their government in Washington have imposed on Mexico. Granted that the well-off in Mexico acquiese (sic), even applaud that relationship, to the detriment of their own poor; that, however, does not justify it.

Nor do the Quaker 'principles' talk about race, the color of one's skin. Mexico, like much of the Third World (the southern hemisphere) is not 'white,' a phenomenon that since colonial days has terrified white Northamericans. It is no accident that border problems for the United States usually deal with people who are not 'white.' The issue, therefore, is racism, not just the border. American racism, as the world knows, has old roots, dating from the pilgrims on hills, slavery at Jamestown, Manifest Destiny and the killing of Indians and Mexicans and justifications for all of that from the likes of Jefferson, Calhoun, Fiske, TR, the Social Darwinists and the present occupant of the White House who decries what he calls 'quotas' and scares his compatriots with Willie Horton.

The border impasse with Cuba, moreover, will not end until the Cubans renounce socialism, as Washington demands, and harkens (sic) to embrace 'free market' economics, which have kept all of Latin American (sic) in a stage of underdevelopment for nearly two centuries. The world without borders, as most Northamericans envisage it, is capitalist and intolerant of those who would deign to seek other formulas.

Ramón Eduardo Ruiz, Professor
Department of History
University of California at San Diego
La Jolla, California

(Continued...)

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Editor:

The Social Contract is a very impressive journal with a purpose to which I can readily relate: to do something positive about the population and immigration problems of the US and of the world. I am very pleased to subscribe to this publication...

My own belief is that people will not get really 'worked up' about the problems of immigration until they realize that it is having substantial negative effect on citizens now, but in future the impact can be destructive of our social and economic structure. Since Texas and California are now receiving more than half of the Mexican immigrants, our problems cannot be alleviated (nothing can 'solve' them) without infusions of federal money. Texans are perhaps beginning to understand that immigration is leading to tax increases, since the legislature is desperate for money to finance our public schools during the coming years...

Emmett L. Hudspeth
Austin, Texas

Environmentalists and Population

"I think that population growth is one of the most important issues facing the world, and it's amazing to me that environmentalists do not place it right at the top of their agenda....One key to motivating our society to action will be to create a bond between those of us who are very interested and experienced in family-planning programs with those who are very concerned about the environment. Those who say they worry about pollution, the future of fossil fuels, the survival of rain forests and the future quality of life—without worrying about the size of the population—simply are not realistic about what it takes to answer those problems."

—From an interview with Faye Wattleton,
President,
Planned Parenthood Federation of America
Published in *The Woodlands Forum*
Center For Growth Studies
Houston Advanced Research Center

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As our feature article for this edition of The Social Contract *we are pleased to present excerpts from* Ideology and Immigration: Australia 1976 to 1987 *by Katharine Betts (Melbourne University Press, 1988). Dr. Betts is a lecturer in sociology at Swinburne Institute of Technology, Australia. Australians went through an immigration debate that is astonishingly parallel to ours, which preceded ours by several years. The author analyzes in particular the role of intellectuals and the "growth lobby" showing how "ideologically correct" ideas on immigration developed. In this regard, her analysis is considerably advanced over that seen in the US, where the role of "political correctness" is just now being recognized for the power it has in shaping the immigration debate. This essay is composed of portions of Dr. Betts' book and is reprinted with permission.*

IDEOLOGY AND IMMIGRATION

By Katharine Betts

IMMIGRATION, RECESSION AND SILENCE

Late in 1972 in Australia, after twenty-three years in Opposition, a Labor Government[1] led by Gough Whitlam came to power. They had been elected on a tide of hope and prosperity, with promises to divide up the spoils of economic growth more liberally, to open the door of opportunity to the oppressed, to invite the underprivileged, the locked-out, to share in the fruits of abundance, to save the environment, the cities, the schools, to rebuild the welfare system, and to renew the Australian sense of national identity. Their success was a sign for many Australians that at last the country's real potential might be fulfilled. The arts would blossom, there would be a renaissance in education and, in both domestic and foreign policy, social justice would be achieved. These hopes were to be short-lived. Late in 1975 the Labor Government was defeated. Some saw this as a result of the Government's own economic and political naivety, others as a result of a right-wing political coup, but one fact cannot now be denied. The long economic boom of the post-war years was played out; the tide of prosperity had ebbed.

The late 1970s and early 1980s witnessed a level of economic distress that the Keynesians had believed to be locked up forever in the muddles and mistakes of the past. The unemployment and inflation of the 1970s confounded this assurance. The boom was gone, and all the stabilizing devices, the deficit spending, and the fine tuning, learnt from the textbooks and the scribes could not bring it back. The wise men who had known the truth quarrelled over the omens and mistook their way and the confidence and the optimism of the early 1970s ran out upon the sands. The lines of the jobless grew, less dramatically and less publicly than in the 1930s, but with similarly corrosive social and psychological effects, and Australian ebullience and assurance contracted and retreated. In 1976 the Fraser Government [Liberal Party] confronted an electorate apparently chastened and prepared, if only just a little, for sacrifice, humility, and some modest tokens of austerity.

At first, expectations of continuing economic growth, security, and broadening affluence were probably only mildly subdued. Why should the future be unlike the past? Unemployment was cyclical and the good times would return. But structural problems in the Australian economy became more evident during the late 1970s and these hopes became more difficult to sustain. Hardship fell unequally and many were able to live as if change were not occurring but even they could worry for their children and their friends. Work was hard to find and new entrants to the labour market often had to be content with marginal jobs, part-time and un-unionized, unless they or their parents could afford more years of education to obtain the higher credentials necessary for access to the dwindling pool of decent jobs. Housing was becoming scarcer and more expensive, and unavailable to most one-income households. Those who could work worked harder to

[1] *For those unfamiliar with Australian politics, the Labor Party (Whitlam Government) is roughly equivalent to our own Democrats and liberals; the Liberal Party (Fraser Government) corresponds to our Republicans and conservatives.*

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maintain their relative position and those who could not fell back.

In some respects Government policy responded to the new austerity in new ways. Welfare was cut and no Herculean efforts were made to rescue declining manufacturing industries. Solutions did not lie with domestic markets alone and an export-led recovery demanded change. But one policy that had seemed appropriate in the 1960s and that had little obvious relevance to the new circumstances of the 1970s was revived. The Government increased immigration. How was it that such a policy could be pursued successfully at such a time? And why should the Hawke [Labor] Government in the 1980s take up the same policy in equally difficult economic circumstances?

"...in the mid 1970s and later, as economic conditions continued to deteriorate,...the intake was enlarged almost annually, and by 1981 the net figures stood at 127,000..."

Immigration is nothing new in this country. For two hundred years immigrants have come in waves, in gusts and in trickles (and often again departed). After the last war they came in unprecedented numbers, and from 1947 to 1972 the population grew from seven and a half to thirteen million, well over half of the growth attributable to migrants and their Australian-born children. In contrast to the pre-war years migrants were drawn from increasingly diverse sources; in the past most had been British; now, while the proportion fluctuated, about half were not. The 1950s and the 1960s had been prosperous. Even so, by the late 1960s some writers and intellectuals had begun to question the wisdom of continuing mass migration where cities sprawled beyond the reach of public transport, unsewered and under-serviced, where schools and hospitals were overcrowded and run-down, welfare facilities strained and inadequate, and where non-English speaking migrants, together with the existing Australian poor, were bearing the brunt of these deficiencies.

The Whitlam [Labor] Government steadily reduced the annual immigration figures and after the election in May 1974 it disbanded the Department of Immigration. Passport control, migrant welfare, and migrant education were hived off to Foreign Affairs, Social Security, and Education respectively, and responsibility for migrant recruitment was given to the Department of Labor. And, in the face of rising unemployment, the numbers were cut still further. Few doubted then that this was a wise and humanitarian policy, in the interests of the existing population and of the would-be immigrant. Yet in the mid 1970s and later, as economic conditions continued to deteriorate, the Fraser [Liberal] Government reversed this trend. The intake was enlarged almost annually, and by 1981 the net figures stood at 127,500, as high as they had ever been at any time since the immediate post-war years.

Some of these new immigrants were not deliberately recruited: for example some were tourists who applied successfully for change of status, or New Zealanders, or illegal immigrants. But the change of status was granted, and the migration of New Zealanders was a consequence of a deliberate decision to allow them automatic right of entry. In other cases some groups were accepted reluctantly: for example the Indo-Chinese refugees. But most of the new migrants were actively recruited, and where those who were not actively recruited were accepted this was not because Australia was powerless in the face of demands for entry. The Government chose this course of action in preference to others.

Net immigration (arrivals minus departures) averaged around 86,000 per annum between 1976 and 1982 and Australia's population grew from 14 million to 15.4 million. Immigration accounted for half of this growth both directly by adding 600,000 new people (more than the combined population of Tasmania and the Northern Territory), and indirectly by contributing to natural increase. The net figures dipped in 1983 and 1984 but by 1985 they had again risen to over 100,000. If migration were to continue at this level by the year 2021 it would add an extra 4 to 5 million people (another Sydney and Adelaide), giving Australia a total population of twenty-three to twenty-four million instead of the nineteen million that would be reached without a net effect from immigration.

There were few obvious benefits for the majority of the population; unemployment was high, and there was considerable pressure to restructure the economy away from labour intensive manufacturing

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for the domestic market to capital intensive export industries. Given this, and given concerns about the diseconomies of growth so clearly indicated in the Whitlam years, and, most especially, given the lack of any widespread popular support for immigration, how was it that the Fraser [Liberal] Government was able to pursue its growth policy?

Perhaps it might seem more logical to begin by asking 'why', but this question has been well answered by Robert Birrell and his various co-writers. He points to a growth lobby centred around interests concerned with the growth of the domestic market in land development, housing, manufacturing and retailing, the interests of the Department of Immigration and Ethnic Affairs in expanding its activities, the interests of some employers in migrant workers and, more recently, the interests of some migrant communities in pressing for family reunion. There are groups and individuals who have something to gain from population growth and their steady pressure provides an explanation for why immigration has proceeded. But why is it that groups and individuals who may feel that they pay the costs of growth have not organized themselves to try to block the programme? Why has there been no countervailing force? The absence of criticism and of organized opposition is the immediate answer to the question of 'how'; this book is an attempt to give reasons for the absence.

"...for adverse public opinion on a given question to be an effective political constraint someone has to articulate it."

Governing élites find it hard to pursue policies that fly in the face of public opinion. But for adverse public opinion on a given question to be an effective political constraint someone has to articulate it. The question has to be placed on the national agenda. This role can fall to the Parliamentary Opposition but when bipartisan positions are adopted, as happened with immigration in 1980, formal political channels are blocked. This does not necessarily stifle adverse opinion but, if it is to be heard and to be effective, it must be promoted by other means. For example, organized protest groups can form, and with competent and articulate leadership they can provide a voice for an electorate disfranchised by bi-partisanship, a voice that politicians will be obliged to heed. Where these groups gain the sympathy of the media, the process will be accelerated. But, if the intelligentsia are not interested and the media unsympathetic, protest groups may not even form or, if they do, they are likely to remain on the fringes. Their activities will be ineffective and they will easily be written off as cranky and irrelevant.

In the past only a small proportion of the population had university degrees and professional occupations, and it was enough for leaders to be intelligent and committed. By contrast contemporary society has been transformed by mass education, and by the growth of higher education for a substantial minority. Most potential leaders have spent a long time in the education system and if a cause cannot attract at least some of the highly educated it will probably be stillborn. Even without an organized following, members of the highly educated middle class are able, by virtue of the positions in the media, the universities, education, welfare, and reform groups, to put political questions on the public agenda if they wish, as was evident in the 1987 debate on the Australia Card.

A number of intellectuals, as a consequence of the kind of work they do, have privileged access to the means of communication. In many cases the opinion that is actually heard is either that of members of the national élite or it is the opinion of intellectuals. Intellectuals can form an 'attentive public', actively engaged in political debates and controversies and, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the kinds of opinions voiced at seminars and conferences, in media interviews, and in 'letters to the editor' will be taken as the working equivalent of 'public opinion'. But there is no necessary reason why educated and articulate opinion should mirror public opinion in general and by the late 1970s the educated and the less educated were at odds on the question of immigration. The general opinion of people with tertiary qualifications was quite unlike the general opinion of less educated people.

It was not the case that every graduate supported growth and that every early school-leaver opposed it. Surveys and opinion polls show that the trends were there, but that they were not all-embracing. Nevertheless, in the late 1970s and early

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1980s Australian intellectuals offered no serious criticism of growth. Most of them, of course, had other things to do, and their work and their personal interests did not bring them into contact with the question. And some sincerely believed that immigration was necessary. But why were there no questions from the rest? Other policies, on unemployment, privatization, deregulation, housing, welfare spending, land rights, private schools, or tertiary fees attracted their full share of attention and debate. Why was immigration shunned?

During the 1970s a particular ideological climate grew up around the topic and attitudes to it came to acquire a special significance in intellectual circles. And for a series of historical reasons, the question moved from being a legitimate topic of discussion and disagreement to become not a topic but a symbol, a marker of intellectual status and identity. If a person's work brought them close to the subject it could be more important to be ideologically correct than to ask difficult questions. The climate was such that these questions might simply not emerge, but if they did it would also become clear that the personal costs of pursuing them might be too high to pay. Potential critics stuck to the kinds of questions about immigration that were approved by their peers or avoided them altogether. Many ideas are difficult to challenge but the taboos surrounding immigration have been especially strong and, as Geoffrey Blainey's experience[2] demonstrated in 1984, the sanctions for those who break them can be severe. Ideologically correct attitudes to immigration have offered the warmth of in-group acceptance to supporters and the cold face of exclusion to dissenters.

This climate of opinion, this set of ideological circumstances, had causes and it has consequences, but before these can be explored the concept of 'ideology' should be defined. If the split between intellectual and majority opinion can be explained in terms of ideology what is the word to mean? Different people use it in different ways. For some an ideology is a world-view, for others it is a set of political doctrines. But for many of the writers who use it 'ideology' refers to false, self-serving ideas. An 'ideology' is a lie, or a half-truth, told to protect the interests of those who tell it. Honest men and women might unintentionally get caught up in an ideology but if the facts of the matter were made clear to them they would disown it. This third definition of 'ideology' is quite common....

"When we think of the population explosion we are considering the idea that human civilization, if not human survival, is threatened by the growing pressure of numbers on resources."

In principle any one belief can be considered as an idea and as an ideology almost at the same time but, in practice, in ordinary discourse, beliefs tend to slip from one category to the other. Take the population explosion. When we think of the population explosion we are considering the idea that human civilization, if not human survival, is threatened by the growing pressure of numbers on resources. This is an idea that may be evaluated in its own terms. What is the carrying capacity of this planet? How many people will various rates of growth produce? On the other hand we may look at the effects of a belief in the population explosion. Perhaps it makes believers fatalistic and despairing; why struggle to achieve reforms if these will only be washed away by the human flood? Perhaps it also makes believers blame the world's poor for their poverty. The problem is too big, the perpetrators too many and too obstinate, and there is nothing to be done. So the population exploding may function as an ideology that relieves the rich of any blame for poverty and of any obligation to try to alleviate it and thus can preserve some mental comfort for them.

But when we see the 'population explosion' in this light we are likely to switch from evaluating it as a description of real events in the world, and see it rather as a means of entrenching Western privilege

[2]*Geoffrey Blainey is a leading Australian historian, and was Dean of the Faculty of Arts at the University of Melbourne. Well-known as a television personality, he made a speech in 1984 questioning the volume and composition of immigration and arguing for a common core of culture in a populace that was becoming increasingly diverse. He was roundly attacked for his views. See pp. 160-166 in Dr. Betts' book.*

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and generating indifference to suffering. So for many humanitarians it can become important not to take the idea seriously, not to look at the intrinsic logic of exponential growth in a finite world, but rather to concentrate on the idea's extrinsic effects. The 'population explosion' becomes not a description of events that may or may not be true but an ideology of the rich and heartless. Yet treating an idea extrinsically, and searching out a range of interest that it may serve, subjects it to no empirical or logical test. We cannot say that an idea is false simply because we have discovered some other ends that it may promote. But discourse often proceeds as if this were the case.

The idea of multiculturalism has its intrinsic merits and its intrinsic problems but when we put these to one side and look at it as an ideology, we see that it may function as a status marker and that it may have more tangible effects as well. It can show that those who approve of it are tolerant, cosmopolitan members of the professional classes, not to be confused with narrow-minded plebeians, but it also has more specific consequences to do with social policy in education, housing, foreign affairs and, of course, immigration. If the tolerant cosmopolitans are employed in one of these areas their commitment to multiculturalism may affect other areas in which they have an interest connected with jobs, promotion, special grants, and bureaucratic rivalries. And, more generally, it can advance interests that the affluent classes have in recreation and personal services (the cheap and exotic restaurants, the delicatessens, the newly affordable domestic help).

"The land developer, the building contractor, and the supermarket chain, all have an interest in population growth and so may the apparent altruist."

There need be nothing explicit and Machiavellian about this. To point to a 'vested interest' that someone's enthusiasms serve may only mean that there was nothing in this person's circumstances to raise questions for them when the idea was in the wind. It cost them nothing and brought them some advantages. This does not mean that they would necessarily and inevitably accept it but, other things being equal, they were more likely to do so than otherwise. People can and do reject ideas that serve their other interests, and they can and do support ideas that fly in the face of those same interests. But an idea that is endorsed by friends and status equals and that is congruent with one's general circumstances is more likely to be accepted than an idea that is not so well spiced with pleasant side effects. The land developer, the building contractor, and the supermarket chain, all have an interest in population growth and so may the apparent altruist. He or she may well benefit from growth in the education system and an increase in welfare clients, and may well enjoy a sense of growing cultural diversity and access to a wider range of foods and cheaper services. This does not have to mean that some apparent altruists are really cynics. Rather it means that for many of them the prospect of immigration offers no immediate threat to their way of life.

It is hard to do one thing by itself. All actions and failures to act have many consequences and one may be aware of some of them and not of others. If some of the unintended effects of the altruists' preferred line of action do in fact work out in their own favor this does not mean that their 'real motives' have been unmasked, but it can help us see that there was little in their personal circumstances to discourage their activities. Ideologies can spread and be adopted in a conscious and intentional way. Liars and hypocrites abound but they are not necessary. Ideological explanations for historical events do not have to depend on conspirators; decent people trying to cope with the complexity of daily life will often do well enough.

Undoubtedly there were and are opportunists turning a dollar and gaining personal and political advantage by supporting immigration, just as there are many sincere advocates who had a serious attitude to the question and little to gain for themselves. But people who had simply caught a particular set of fashionable ideas played a major part in helping the growth lobby in Australia in the late 1970s and early 1980s because their role in preserving silence and promoting orthodoxy was essential.

My own opinion about immigration and population growth is not relevant to an explanation

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of how it has been achieved, but it is only fair that I should state it. I believe that population growth is not in the interests of people who are already settled in Australia and who intend to stay. Some people might agree with this but argue that we should nevertheless proceed with growth policies in the interests of those who are not yet here but would like to come. This may be a defensible position but, if we are to act on it, it should be stated explicitly and subjected to genuine political debate. Those who must bear the costs of growth and pay the price of policies oriented to the interests of others should give their informed consent.

THE SOCIAL LOCATION OF INTELLECTUALS

Intellectuals have privileged access to the means of communication. At times, as researchers, commentators on public affairs, activists, or reformers, they themselves are in the media spotlight and play a part in shaping the news. On a more continuing basis many of them are heavily involved in transmitting information and cultural values to the rest of the population. As teachers, journalists, artists and writers, they run, or make a major contribution to, education, theatre, serious journalism and publishing, and they play some part in the mass media as well. Their work includes creating and defining culture, and the interpretation and transmission of existing beliefs and values. Work of this nature is a source of power, though a source that is usually diffuse and taken for granted. But intellectuals can influence political processes in more direct ways. In some circumstances, their access to the means of communication allows them to affect the agenda of public debate and it is always possible that, by chance or by choice, they may articulate popular concerns that are being suppressed by the power élite. Or they may not articulate them, thereby deliberately or unintentionally helping to maintain the status quo. In 1979 the chairman of the Australian Immigration Reform Association, Ken Rivett, put it like this:

> *A government, especially if helped by a responsible opposition, can run somewhat against the tide of majority opinion without suffering for it electorally. This applies especially to the admission of refugees or other migrants with a good case for being here, since the fact of their settling without dire forebodings coming true tends to influence opinion. So do favourable news about, and encounters with, the refugees themselves. Nonetheless public opinion sets limits to what policy can be.*

Adverse opinion may set limits but with the help of a 'responsible opposition' and 'favourable news' these limits can be extended.

"Democracies are based on the idea of majority rule but in practice politicians and other political leaders are often able to fly in the face of the wishes of the majority. However if they are to do this they need help."

Democracies are based on the idea of majority rule but in practice politicians and other leaders are often able to fly in the face of the wishes of the majority. However if they are to do this they need help, not only from the Parliamentary Opposition and other powerful groups, but also from the intelligentsia. If policy is to flout public opinion, that opinion must be excluded from the arena of legitimate debate and this gives the intelligentsia a kind of power. They cannot bend either the masses or the captains of industry to their will, but if they articulate public discontents in circumstances where the élite are carefully ignoring them, they can act as the catalyst that brings unpopular Government policies to a halt. If on the other hand they keep the silence they will provide the powerful with a considerable political opportunity. The question then is, when are intellectuals likely to articulate majority opinion and when are they unlikely to do so?

If the beliefs and opinions of intellectuals on social and political questions were formed solely on the intrinsic merits of particular cases there could be no general answer to this question. But if they have common interests as members of a social category, and if these interests affect their beliefs, there should be some trace of a consistent pattern. The concept of the 'vested interest' does not explain why any one individual adopts a particular position (nor does discovering a vested interest in itself prove that

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position to be mistaken). But we would, for example, expect that people employed in certain areas such as the union movement would be more likely to be left wing—if this did not conflict with other interests and goals that were important to them—just as we would expect others such as stock brokers to be more likely to be right wing—if this did not conflict with other valued ends. If a general answer exists to the question 'when are intellectuals likely to articulate majority opinion', it will be partial and incomplete. But a search for such an answer must begin with an analysis of their position in society and the kinds of goals and interests that are likely to be associated with it.

Advanced industrial societies, both capitalist and socialist, are heavily dependent on trained workers. In the West educational institutions have expanded rapidly over the last hundred years, and a considerable number of the people now gain a livelihood not from manual labour, nor yet from rent or profits, but from intellectual skills authenticated by credentials. For at least some social theorists the growth in the numbers of the professionally credentialed and their relatively privileged social position have raised doubts about conventional ways of understanding class and social inequality. Are the highly educated, despite their advantages, still working class? Or are some of them to be understood, as Lenin once argued, as the vanguard party of the working class, in it but not of it and marked out by their greater understanding of social forces? Or are they, as the American sociologist Alvin Gouldner claims, a rising 'new class' of owners of 'cultural capital', challenging the old class of the propertied, the old bourgeoisie, for social dominance? Or is it more useful simply to see them as part of the bourgeoisie, the credentialed and propertied merging to form a single group with similar origins and similar interests? Or is the idea of class now irrelevant and are the credentialed merely a stratum of people who have some experiences in common, for example a prolonged education, but little in the way of common material interests?

Writers who have attempted to describe the social position of intellectuals have not found their way to a consensus, but there is agreement on one aspect of the intellectuals' situation and that is their tendency to be employed in disproportionate numbers in the public sector. The growing role of the state in social and economic life has offered opportunities for professionally qualified people to find employment in administration, research, planning, education, social welfare and the arts. This is in addition to the more traditional fields of medicine, law, applied science, accounting, public works and defence. The State has now become a key employer for many intellectuals, particularly those trained in the humanities and social sciences. The latter groups matter politically, not just because of their general and often routine work in passing on cultural values, but because critics, journalists, reformers and activists are often recruited from their ranks. Arts and social science graduates have no monopoly over the spirit of reform, but they are more likely to be in a position to articulate, crystallize and legitimate disaffected elements in public opinion than, for instance, engineers, medicos, accountants or computer analysts.

"Local resistance to immigration is often seen as racist but it can also appear as a selfish reluctance to share, a reluctance to forfeit grossly indulgent levels of material comfort."

Graduates in the arts and the social sciences may find it harder to market their skills than people whose background is in more specifically vocational disciplines, but their political influence can be greater. This is especially true of the few who make successful careers in journalism, television, and the universities. But it also applies to many who work as organizers, researchers and project officers within a range of welfare and reform associations (including, of course, the growing number of organizations concerned with migrant welfare and multi-culturalism)....

Intellectuals have often found little to admire in the owners of the means of production and their products, but they have not confined their scorn to this quarter. The workers who have adapted to capitalism and its goods have also come in for criticism with their plaster gnomes, plastic flowers and china ducks, and now their video recorders, cars, caravans and motor boats, their mass produced goods

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and chattels, their attitudes and the cultural desert in which they live. All such features of their lives are attacked and ridiculed. Gouldner has concentrated on analyzing a rise to power of a new class at the expense of the old and has little to say about the attitudes of intellectuals to subordinate groups. But Martin writes about this at length, and it becomes a central theme when we consider the role of the intellectuals in the immigration debate in Australia. Local resistance to immigration is often seen as racist but it can also appear as a selfish reluctance to share, a reluctance to forfeit grossly indulgent levels of material comfort. The crassness of old Australians with their economistic values must be confronted with old-world and alien values that are not only different but, by implication, less crass and less materialistic.

AUSTRALIAN INTELLECTUALS AND THE IMMIGRATION QUESTION

Surveys and public opinion polls show that many highly educated Australians tend to favour generous multiculturalism and a generous response to refugees, that they are unwilling to say that immigration figures are too high, that they support non-racist selection policies, and that they appear to be blasé about a supposed defence threat[3] to their country. Not all tertiary or university educated people endorse these positions but their attitudes tend to be unlike that of the majority and quite unlike that of the primary educated.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s intellectuals had raised a number of questions about immigration. It is curious that the considerable growth in the migrant intake between 1976 and 1983 met with little or no opposition from independent intellectual critics. The attitudes recorded in surveys and opinion polls offer some clues to the puzzle but, while tables of data can demonstrate trends, they do not reveal the powerful emotions behind some of those trends or the historical context in which they developed. It was not simply that a growing shift in intellectual opinion turned potential critics of immigration away from the topic and towards other pursuits. The particular attitudes behind this shift in opinion carried some heavy symbolic freight.

"With the general anxiety about unemployment, if even a fraction of [the intelligentsia] had chosen to mobilize against the new immigration programme [it] would surely have been abandoned."

The radical protest movements of the 1960s, the anti-war movement, women's liberation, the environmental protection movement, gay rights, resident action, abortion law reform, all these were essentially the concerns and activities of members of the educated middle classes, students and recent graduates as well as established professional people. They were not all-powerful in achieving their aims but they constituted a political force that could not be lightly dismissed. With the general anxiety about unemployment, if even a fraction of them had chosen to mobilize against the new immigration programme of the late 1970s the programme would surely have been abandoned, especially as there were doubts about it within the Fraser Government itself.

Opposition could have drawn on a number of established and respectable causes: resources and the environment; the overcrowding of cities; housing and homelessness; the deteriorating conditions of the poor, the unemployed, the welfare recipients; the implications of immigration for restructuring of the economy and later, for the balance of payments; and the folly of the defence argument. But though Labor politicians in the Federal Parliament did raise some of these questions before they were silenced by bipartisanship, the intelligentsia in the universities, in welfare lobbies, reform groups, and in the media, held their peace. They were not particularly pro-growth, but they were affected by a powerful ideological climate that made them unlikely to

[3]*National defense has long been a prime public policy topic in Australia. During World War II the country numbered 7 million and invasion by the Japanese was widely feared. Casting an eye to the teeming populations to their north, the question has been: How could we defend ourselves? Population growth was seen as one answer and gave rise to the catch phrase 'Populate or Perish.' Chapter 6 of Dr. Betts' book is given over to this topic.*

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challenge it. And the effect of this climate increased during the 1970s, though its broader origins lie further back in time.

In the decades following World War II some of the ideas and attitudes current among Australian intellectuals changed. Given the times and the recruitment of a new generation of graduates and professional people this was inevitable. By the mid 1970s, in some circles, and especially among people trained in the humanities and social sciences, a particular set of beliefs had developed concerning race, racism, materialism and the nature of the Australian non-intellectual. Many of these beliefs were true and useful but they also served this new generation as markers of cultural identity, as status symbols....

Conflict between intellectuals and non-intellectuals may well be endemic in societies that allocate resources at least in part on the basis of acquired skills and higher education. Conflict may also be an unavoidable consequence of the commitment of intellectuals to reason, criticism, and the questioning of accepted truths, however partially this commitment is applied. Economic tensions, fuelled by resentment at the destruction of traditional values by cold science and hard logic, may explain the origins of conflict, but particular historical circumstances will affect the form that this conflict takes.

As their numbers grew during the post-war decades many professional and semi-professional people were looking for some way of distinguishing their new position and social identity from the lower middle class values of their personal backgrounds. Broadly speaking, there were two pre-existing possibilities: the anglophile norms of established wealth and the locally developed practices of the Australian working people....

The recently successful, first generation professionals, concentrated in the major cities, could not hope to emulate the life styles based on country residences and Oxbridge manners. Many of this new and growing group of people began to find a solution to their status problems by developing a third possibility based on their perceptions not of British but of European culture. They became enthusiastic about foreign films and foreign literature, foreign fashion, and especially enthusiastic about travel—not necessarily to England but possibly to France, or to Italy or Greece. And those who were confined to their native continent could console themselves with exotic food, continental delicatessens and restaurants, and with developing a cultivated taste in wine.

"...the many contributions on these themes hardly constituted a debate for, at least until 1984, few legitimate voices asked questions about the worth of these values: [questions of racial discrimination in selection policies, of international justice, the value of cultural diversity]."

In the 1960s films like 'Zorba the Greek' helped to establish the idea of the 'marvellous ethnic', a race of people who really knew how to live a full life untrammelled by narrow Anglo-Saxon inhibitions, and in the 1950s that engaging fraud, *They're a Weird Mob*, by 'Nino Culotta' (really John O'Grady, but not unmasked for some time), had suggested that foreign warmth and generosity might already be here, waiting undiscovered amongst us. Traditional southern European society is in fact tightly bound by values of honour, female chastity, and family authority, but cultural tourists will always find the foreigner they imagine, and the idea of the 'marvellous ethnic' agreed with the liberal values of internationalism and tolerance. This added to the idea's attractions; multiculturalism and cosmopolitanism also set up clear criteria for establishing social prestige, criteria which were unlike those of the old anglophile establishment, and which sharply distinguished these new participants in the culture of careful and critical discourse from the 'Australian-oriented lower order'....

Though the question of immigrants' contribution to population growth was seldom raised in intellectual circles between 1976 and 1983, other aspects of immigration have been much discussed both during that period, and over the last two decades. Questions of racial discrimination in selection policies, of international justice, and of the value of cultural diversity provoked a stream of seminars, conferences, books and articles. But the many contributions on these themes hardly

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constituted a debate for, at least until 1984, few legitimate voices asked questions about the worth of these values. It could be taken for granted that internationalism and cultural diversity were self-evidently correct. The words promoting them were not, however, spoken in a social vacuum. There were two partners to the exchange but only one had a speaking role. The parochials and their presumed desires, attitudes and preferences were a constant theme but they themselves were not asked to reply....

The attitude of many intellectuals toward Australia's defence can be best described as one of elegant pessimism. The belief in the absurdity of erecting military barriers against the invader does not lie in a perception that these barriers are unnecessary but in a belief that they would be useless. Australia should uphold the central values of racial and international equality because this is morally correct and because, as an especially vulnerable nation, she will only be permitted to exist as long as her values and practices do not offend the international community.

In 1975 the French demographer, Alfred Sauvy, stated the second of these principles quite clearly. Starting from the two premises (both doubtful) that an active zero population growth movement exists in Australia and that Australia has been particularly niggardly in accepting refugees he writes:

> *with 7.6 million square kilometers at her disposal—of which the whole eastern portion could be cultivated, if need be, at the cost of a little effort—the country is situated, almost teasingly, opposite the immense mass of Asia with its large and growing population.*
> *For the moment, no tension can be discerned...[but one] must expect that some day or other, China will denounce this rich country to the United Nations for monopolizing the soil and will demand, sharply, that the land be allocated to the starving...*

In Sauvy's opinion Australia's only hope of retaining national sovereignty lies in embarking on a large, well-publicized, policy of opening up her boundless resources and sharing them with her Asia neighbours. This is not simply the view of a caustic, ill-informed foreigner. A number of local intellectuals who are troubled by the question of Australia's wealth and Asia's poverty have reached similar conclusions. In 1979 David Scott, then Executive Director of the Brotherhood of St Laurence and Chairman of Community Aid Abroad, acknowledged the switch from the old connection between defence and population to the new connection, and articulated this new connection in moderate terms.

> *The 'populate or perish' notion that fuelled the post-war immigration drive does not carry much weight today but, as is now often pointed out, in the eyes of our neighbours, we need to be making good use of our spaces and/or resources. More people may be needed to legitimise our occupation of a sizeable and well-resourced landmass. Failure to be seen to be responsible can be used to exert political pressure to influence Australian policies or regional attitudes toward Australia.....*

In 1978 George Zubrzycki, Foundation Professor of Sociology at the School of General Studies, Australian National University, and Chairman of the Australian Ethnic Affairs Council, articulated Sauvy's position much more strongly. He argued that immigration was necessary for domestic, economic reasons but then went on to say that:

> *there are two other issues that clearly and fundamentally transcend our domestic situation.*
> *First, is the incongruity between Asian overpopulation and Australian underpopulation which creates by far the greatest issue facing us today—an issue far more serious than say the future of our manufacturing industry. The challenge of survival in a continent which is incredibly rich and yet indefensible. Second is the moral problem. The earth in all its fullness exists for the use of all human beings regardless of race or colour or creed. How long can we continue to claim sovereignty over a continent the size of Australia and deny access to those who are prepared to work hard to develop it?*

But he then makes a point that is unusual in the contemporary literature advocating continuing immigration.

> *All this clearly implies profound economic sacrifice. Yes, sacrifice to our living standards. If hundreds of millions in the poor world cannot have two meals a day or even*

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one whole meal a day then we may have to forgo our fantastic consumption of luxuries. If we want to populate Australia for the sake of strengthening our defence potential and for the sake of producing more wheat, more rice, more of everything else for those who experience hunger in the neighbouring countries of Asia, then we must pay a price, a price for our survival.

The two beliefs that lie behind the restatement of the link between population and defence, that the country has vast resources and that it is in danger from the north, are the same beliefs as those that lay behind the position of the *Sydney Morning Herald* in 1895. It is the prescription for action that is different. Australia should not try to keep the aliens at bay with military force, she should invite them in. She should do this because virtue may disarm hostility and because, prudence aside, it is unjust that so few should claim exclusive possession of so much.

The exodus of refugees from Indo-China, beginning as a trickle immediately after the fall of Saigon in 1975 and growing to a flood by late 1977, probably helped to crystallize the new version of the threat from the north and its implications for defence. In 1979 Zubrzycki wrote:

A civilian invasion of Australia has already begun. This is what the peaceful incoming of the Vietnamese 'boat people' really is..
Not even the blindest ostrich with his head most deeply dug into the sand can miss its significance. We are geographically placed in the most critical area of the world's population growth—East Asia...
Australia's attitude to the boat people is a test of our sincerity about our attitude to Asia and the defence of our country. If we do not grasp the challenge of developing this vast continent we shall find it increasingly difficult to justify our possession of it.

The Vietnam War polarized Australian society and sharpened the rift between many intellectuals, particularly those on the left, and their fellow citizens. And by the 1970s some of the student protesters of the 1960s had gone on to become the new generation of academics and social critics. The war had been waged in an Asian country. The new generation of intellectuals had resisted it, argued and fought against it, with all the passion of those who are caught up in opposing the most wretched of human evils, and in this struggle they grasped at the idea of racism—the extreme antithesis of cosmopolitanism. Racism offered an explanation for the Australian mentality and it also offered a distinguishing mark, separating those who had insight and could understand from those who were locked into the small dark space of their own selfish and fear-filled ignorance.

"Taking a correct position on these questions can be more a matter of symbolic or expressive politics than a matter of achieving practical goals."

The historian, Humphrey McQueen, a student in the 1960s and an academic in the 1970s, has developed the argument that 'racism is the most important single component of Australian nationalism', and that this is induced by a siege mentality and the 'threat from the north'. Denis Altman, also a member of this generation, writes that 'the first point about our traditional *Weltanschauung* is that it is racist'. Ideas of this kind reinforced the division between cosmopolitans and parochials and helped predispose cosmopolitans to accept and support immigration. If the parochial is distinguished by fear and insularity, the tacit conclusion might be that immigration and forced confrontation with diversity will provide a cure; or, even if a cure does not eventuate, that the confrontation will at least provide a continuing rallying point where intellectuals can demonstrate their moral and cultural superiority. But this conclusion does not involve rational analysis and debate, and the threat perception that makes the parochial dangerous and absurd is not refuted. Asian immigration can be seen as an especially potent way of challenging all that is narrow, insular, chauvinistic and selfish in the local culture. True, this strategy may not protect an 'indefensible' nation from aggression, but this may not be the aim. Taking a correct position on these questions can be more a matter of symbolic or expressive politics than a matter of achieving practical goals.

Many statements of humanitarian obligation to

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accept immigrants are put forward in a coercive context as the other side of the defence coin and, though disinterested advocates of immigration do not often argue that humanitarianism has economic benefits, special pleaders for extended family reunion (and sometimes refugees) do make this claim. Altruism pays. But for some advocates humanitarianism is an end in itself. In 1979, for example, Ken Rivett presented a case for accepting immigrants, particularly refugees, that was not linked to any military or economic goals but rested solely on the increase in welfare that immigration might offer the immigrant.

> *very few economists would say there is clear evidence that [immigration] raises (or, up to a certain rate of inflow, lowers) income per head in the host country. There is no strong economic case for it on selfish grounds; such a case must be based on the gain to migrants from poor countries who move to where they can earn much more in an environment where there is more capital, and often more natural resources to work with, per head.*

Rivett went on to claim that as international aid is calculated as a proportion of gross domestic product per capita, the total sum of foreign aid that Australia could give would be larger with a larger population. (This of course assumes that population growth is not accompanied by a fall in per capita GDP.) The straightforward appeal to humanitarianism may be more common than the argument that links humanitarian ideals to the threat of coercion, but it generally rests on the idea of Australian wealth and the opportunity this provides to do good at little cost.

"Intellectuals are surest of their ground when humanitarianism and racial tolerance are the points at issue."

For Altman the underlying problem for political activists is to reorient the values of a 'small, rich and underpopulated country', because if Australians are 'to begin to contribute to any genuine global reallocation of resources there is a need for a radical reappraisal of our domestic politics'. The moral case for a 'global reallocation of resources' is self-evident. It is also a fundamental goal of 'libertarian socialism': personal freedom, a steady state economy, and international egalitarianism. And if we turn from libertarian socialism to Christian humanism the message is similar. In 1982 Sir Frank Little, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Melbourne, argued that:

> *This is a country of great emptiness. We should promote the opening of our shores to people in need, particularly refugees.*
> *Australians are only stewards of this vast tract of land, not the ultimate owners.*

For others obligation may flow from the presumption of our wealth and the fact of others' need.

> *we need to be thinking now about ways in which we will be able to honour the obligations we are likely to be incurring in the coming decades as ecological pressures reach even more frightening proportions in the countries of South-East Asia.* (H.Feith)

And in January 1982 the 'Saturday Reflection', published as part of an *Age* editorial, said:

> *Lessons from the past and the dictates of reason suggest we shall be held responsible before the bar of history, if not before the throne of judgement, for the use we make of this immense piece of real estate our forefathers bequeathed to us.*
> *Responsibility for sharing what one possesses with others who have not is written in the nature of things.*
> *Our Government cannot afford to ignore these things when considering our national statistics, the rights of minorities among us, and especially when reviewing its immigration policy.*

Intellectuals are surest of their ground when humanitarianism and racial tolerance are the points at issue. They feel that the case is obviously right. Nonetheless, it is here that they also feel the most conscious of parochial resistance and this can inject a note of passion and even open hostility into the debate. When the culture is seen as materialistic and racist how could this be otherwise? And the impression of the 1960s that the majority of Australians were selfish and ethnocentric in their attitude toward the foreigner overseas was only confirmed by the growing perception of their attitudes toward the 'foreigner' at home.

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The 'problem migrant' had been discovered by some Australian-born intellectuals in the late 1960s. In the early 1970s this discovery was publicized and became linked with the Government's development of multiculturalism. This further helped to define the split between intellectuals and parochials in terms of attitudes to ethnic difference and cultural pluralism. By the late 1970s migrant communities themselves had begun to draw on some of the imagery and to convert it into the hard currency of specific policies. In the 1960s migrants from non-English-speaking backgrounds were not much discussed and were not seen as people with special problems. To the extent that non-English-speaking immigrants were considered as a distinct social category, they were more often perceived as right wing anti-communists rather than as social victims. Most often, however, they were simply not considered at all. As late as 1973 McQueen lamented that because of Australia's 'rigidly Anglo-Saxon immigration' there was no ethnic minority in the country from which a social critique could develop, and Donald Horne writes that few of the commentators who took part in the ferment of policy and ideas immediately preceding the election of the Whitlam Government had any notion of Australia as a society characterized by ethnic pluralism. 'The preconditions for an ethnic consciousness movement were there but not the reality.'

During the 1970s and early 1980s the perception of immigrants as people condemned to poverty and truncated opportunities developed and blossomed. Unscrupulous employers were given the most blame in this analysis but it was always easy to add the rider that these problems and disabilities were accentuated by widespread prejudice against the immigrant's cultural difference. The Australian-born were believed to assign a low social status to people of ethnic origin which led to problems of low self-esteem among migrants and their children, and thus to personal, familial and economic difficulties. Multiculturalism with its emphasis on the positive value of ethnicity was devised as a counter to these difficulties. The immigrant's feelings of self-worth were to be nurtured and the Australian-born were to realize the wrong that they had done and to see that they should correct it.

Advocates of cultural pluralism and migrant welfare were initially able to separate policies of this kind from immigration policy itself. There was no necessary link between a respect for people who were different and a high migrant intake. In 1970 it had been possible to criticize the continuing intake of migrants while nonetheless acknowledging and appreciating the contribution of non-British migrants to Australian culture. The Whitlam Government had no difficulty in combining a commitment to a number of international ideals, to the abolition of selection policies based on race, and the development of multiculturalism with a decision to restrict and cut back the overall intake. But by the beginning of the 1980s the situation had changed, and to support migrant welfare was to support immigration; people who questioned immigration by implication questioned the value of existing migrants. Their questions insulted migrants, devalued their suffering, and demonstrated the questioner's lack of tolerance and humanitarianism. Intellectuals who criticized immigration risked exile from their class and alignment with the parochial. Given some of the opinions about parochials this was a considerable risk....

Perhaps some intellectuals, in certain moods and in certain situations, have 'always hated Australia'. But in the 1970s and 1980s there were more of them than there had been fifty years before and those who most desired to express antipathy towards their compatriots had acquired a new way of expressing their feelings through their attitudes to migrants and immigration. ■

Paperback copies of Ideology and Immigration: Australia 1976 to 1987 *by Dr. Katharine Betts can be purchased at $20 per copy, postpaid. Write to: the Federation for American Immigration Reform, Attention: Betty Ruth Dungan, 1666 Connecticut Ave, NW, Washington DC 20036; or call (202) 328-7004.*

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Two years ago New York Education Commissioner Thomas Sobol received the report of his task force on minorities under the title "A Curriculum of Inclusion." The report lashes out at Western culture, which it accuses of lowering the self-esteem of minority children and impeding their academic progress. In the storm of criticism that followed, Commissioner Sobol has backed away from his initial endorsement of the report and the Board of Regents has appointed another panel to make recommendations later this year. In this essay Gerda Bikales, former Executive Director of US English, revisits the document that spells out the dogma of 'political correctness' for the public schools. Following this essay we publish the Executive Summary of the 1989 report to the NY Regents, a response written by Diane Ravitch and Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., the speech on "The Role of the West" by Dean Donald Kagan, and a column by Michael Novak.

'YOU'VE GOT TO BE CAREFULLY TAUGHT'

By Gerda Bikales

In the post-World War era of nascent discomfort with the evils of racism, the immensely popular musical *South Pacific* took the subject straight on. "You've got to be carefully taught to hate and fear," sang the unhappy young GI in love with a Polynesian beauty, "before it's too late, before you are six, or seven, or eight." The implication was that people are born free of hatred and fear of others not like themselves, and then are deliberately taught to become prejudiced by the adults who mold their innocent minds.

Actually, lyricist Oscar Hammerstein had it reversed. Anyone who has closely observed young children knows that they are not receptive to strangers, generally, and even less so to people whose appearance differs from their own and that of family members. Without the influence of careful teaching of the principles of civilized behavior, children tend to be painfully insensitive and judgmental with anyone who is 'different.' Yet, with firm guidance from the significant adults in their lives, the impulse to distrust people who are not like themselves can be controlled and even overcome. It takes considerable effort, but, in time, familiarity arising from positive experiences with others, reinforced by careful early teaching about the worth of each human being and the dignity inherent in the human personality, will yield individuals fit for membership in a decent and pluralistic society.

Yes, you've got to be carefully taught. Not prejudice—as Hammerstein would have it, for that comes all too naturally—but rather how to reject prejudice. In the United States, we must be taught that we are all members of the American family, sharing the bond of common citizenship, whatever our ancestry. In steps calibrated to our maturing emotions and intellect we must be helped to learn tolerance, respect, and—for those able to take the further step—the appreciation of differences.

In the past the public schools in many parts of the country had done a reasonably good job of teaching these essential lessons. Not a perfect job by any means, but a creditable one nevertheless. The massive waves of immigrants who reached these shores after the Civil War and early in this century came from societies harboring ancient hatreds toward one another, which the schools successfully diffused in the new generation by teaching the ideals of a shared American heritage. This assertion has become controversial in recent years, but its validity is demonstrated by the triumph of the momentous civil rights reforms of the 1960s. For it was the children educated in the 'melting pot' schools of urban America in the 1930s, '40s and '50s who would no longer stand for Jim Crow, who demanded radical changes and committed themselves—at no small long-term cost to themselves and posterity—to a more just and equitable society for all Americans.

The road toward greater justice and equality has proven to be arduous and frustratingly slow. Out of that frustration comes a new pedagogy, seemingly based on a literal interpretation of the Hammerstein lyrics, but with a new twist. This time, it is the public schools that are being urged to do the careful

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teaching of race hatred and fear!

Two years ago, New York State's Commissioner of Education, Thomas Sobol, issued a report by his Task Force on Minorities entitled "A Curriculum of Inclusion." The task force had been formed to review the Department of Education's affirmative action policies, its curriculum and instruction guides "to see if they accurately reflect the pluralistic nature of the society," and to review instructional practices "which may operate to the detriment of minority children."

The reasons for creating such a task force are no doubt many, including the desire of the newly appointed Commissioner, whose professional experience had been limited to affluent suburban schools, to reach out to his minority critics. Another may well have been the genuine need to explore ways to improve the state's urban schools, which are increasingly incapable of coping with the large influx of immigrant children from every corner of the globe.

Statistics compiled by the New York Department of Education tell the story. In the Fall of 1970 white children constituted 38.3 percent of the public school population in New York City. In 1990 that figure was down to 19 percent. By contrast, Hispanics made up 25.7 percent of the city's school population in 1970, and 35 percent in 1990. The category of 'other minority,' which is almost entirely Asian, more than quintupled between 1970 and 1990, going from 1.5 percent to 7.9 percent. Black enrollment went up more slowly from 34.5 percent twenty years ago to 38 percent last Fall. A sizeable portion of that growth comes from the city's large community of immigrants from Haiti, Jamaica, and the Dominican Republic.

Much hope had been placed in bilingual education in the early 1970s as a way to reach students and upgrade their performance. In the Fall of 1988 over 100,000 children in the New York City public schools were classified as "Limited English Proficient" — a number expected to rise sharply, both as a result of more immigration, and because of a Board of regents reclassification scheme that makes more children eligible for bilingual instruction.

Bilingual education, however, has failed to deliver on its promise. It was to be expected, therefore, that the next magic remedy would eventually be discovered: the deconstruction of the American experience and the rewriting of history to serve the 'self-esteem' needs of minority children.

The task force report wastes no time getting right to the point. Its opening sentence reads: "African Americans, Asian Americans, Puerto Ricans/Latinos, and Native Americans have all been the victim of an intellectual and educational oppression that has characterized the culture and institutions of the United States and the European world for centuries." The academic achievement of minority children has been disappointing because this oppression has "a terribly damaging effect on the psyche of young people of African, Asian, Latino, and Native American descent" who have undergone "intellectual victimization" and therefore can't develop "positive self-esteem and self-management skills." "European American" students have also been damaged by the oppressive curriculum because they tend to "overvalue their self-worth" and must be shown the error of their ways.

The reviewers, searching for "Eurocentric conceptualization and modality" found plenty to complain about. Much effort was spent on counting the number of times African Americans appeared in textbook pictures, and though people of all races are portrayed in the textbooks, the ratio of blacks to whites was found wanting. Yes, they allow, there is a multicultural perspective in the curriculum, but it is "additive, not at the center of the endeavor," and it "projects dominant European American values."

The Asian, Latino, and Native American consultants each took pains to point out the rich diversity within their own groups, and regretted the tendency of the curriculum to make short shrift of it and treat the group too monolithically. Mercifully, the Native American consultant eventually recognized that since there are "over 300 tribes/Indian nations, plus over 200 Alaska native villages," New York State students might get away with studying the Six Nations tribes, the Shinneckocks and the Poospatucks first — though eventually they must "learn about the total matrix of Indian tribes throughout the US."

"On the other hand, Dr. Leonard Jeffries, the chairman of the Black Studies department at City College who served as the Task Force's African American specialist, strikes a unifying theme by insisting on teaching about the black culture of ancient Egypt as the direct heritage of every African American. The Latino expert recommends the

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singing of the Puerto Rican national anthem in the classroom and presenting Pedro Albizu Campos as a role model (yes, the very same one whose terrorist squads tried to assassinate President Truman in 1950, and injured five Congressmen in a 1954 shooting spree).

The tone throughout the entire report is one of deliberate debasement of, and hostility toward, America's majority population—its culture, its history, and its values. With the excision of the hated Western culture from its core, the envisioned "Curriculum of Inclusion" is in reality a "Curriculum of Incoherence," in which bits and pieces about a multitude of cultures are served up without any foundation or framework, other than the artifice of shared victimization at the hands of European Americans.

The report is quite a unique document in the annals of educational history. Surely, there can't be many reports prepared by experts and addressed to officials charged with the education of young children that find fault with students because they are too self-confident and successful in school, and then suggest that it would be best to take these youngsters down a few notches and undermine their self-confidence, all on the basis of the color of their skin. It has often been said that good intentions can easily go awry and create mischief, but what we have here are undisguised bad intentions, clearly meant to tear American society further apart.

With the release of this report we have arrived in the nightmarish land of George Orwell's *1984*, where the rewriting of history to suit a tyrannical regime is an ongoing project, and a hateful symbolic figure known as 'Goldstein' is presented to the masses for daily hate sessions designed to vent their frustrations. The task force's recommended new bureaucracy, to be built under a Special Assistant for Cultural Equity, would be well-suited to carry on the necessary rewriting of history into politically correct myths, and the report's compression of the majority population into a single image of a composite 'European American' provides a useful Goldstein-figure for daily ritual flogging.

Outright racism, which animates virtually every page of "Curriculum of Inclusion," was also displayed in the treatment of a noted critic, Professor Diane Ravitch. A distinguished scholar in the history of education, Dr. Ravitch responded to the report with a series of high-profile articles which called attention to its follies. A few months later, Commissioner Sobol invited her to address the task force members about her concerns. As she tells it, Ms. Ravitch was seated next to Regent Adelaide Sanford, who suddenly told her: "Your grandparents owned my grandparents." Informed that Ravitch's grandparents were not on the American scene but were themselves victims of pogroms in Europe, Sanford then accused them of owning—'ethnically speaking'—the ships that brought the slaves to America, an allusion to Dr. Jeffries' teaching that an international Jewish cartel brought the slaves to America.

Later, Ms. Ravitch was rebuked by Ms. Hazel Dukes, the chairman of the New York State chapter of the NAACP who headed the task force, for saying that all groups have known pain and suffering, and making a reference to the Holocaust. She told Ravitch that she was tired of hearing about the Holocaust, and then referred angrily to the Jews' criticism of Jesse Jackson and also the plight of Mayor David Dinkins, who, she said, "has worn a bald spot on his head by wearing so many yarmulkes..."

The academic failure of so many black and Hispanic children is indeed a tremendous loss, not only to the children who will suffer most directly, but also to this country which is greatly in need of their unrealized potential. It is very doubtful, however, that the institutionalization of racial hatred in our schools will do much to improve the destinies of these children.

It may not please the task force members, but at this juncture in the historic, social and cultural evolution of the United States, the culture and people of Europe are not a sideshow of irrelevant relics, but the dominant influence pervading national life. To pretend otherwise is dishonest and foolish.

Yet there is no doubt that this statement will be less true in the future. The 1990 census has confirmed the momentum for further rapid growth within the minority communities, due to record immigration and higher fertility. The face of America is changing, and the contribution of minorities will play an ever more important part in shaping our common future.

But you've got to be carefully taught! ■

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Much of the current media furor over "political correctness" was triggered by a report to the New York State Board of Regents (overseeing all public education curricula) by the Task Force on Minorities, Equity and Excellence chaired by Thomas Sobol. Below we present the 'Executive Summary' of the report.

A CURRICULUM OF INCLUSION

African Americans, Asian Americans, Puerto Ricans/Latinos, and Native Americans have all been the victims of an intellectual and educational oppression that has characterized the culture and institutions of the United States and the European American world for centuries. Negative characterizations or the absence of positive references have a terribly damaging effect on the psyche of young people of African, Asian, Latino, and Native American descent, and an equally damaging, though different, effect on young people of European American descent. Task Force members and curriculum consultants found that the current New York State Education Department curricular materials, though improved recently, are contributing to the miseducation of all young people through a systematic bias toward European culture and its derivatives.

"The problem is framed in its historical context of the nation developing as a preserve of European culture and values..."

All curricula published by the Education Department were reviewed to determine the extent to which they met the Regents' goal of having all students "develop the ability to understand, respect, and accept people of different races; sex; cultural heritage; national origin; religion; and political, economic, and social background". With some notable exceptions, the curricular materials fail to meet this goal. After highlighting some of the contributions to American society by non-European culture, the Report documents how these contributions have been systematically distorted, marginalized, or omitted.

The problem is framed in its historical context of the nation developing as a preserve of European culture and values, with nearly all textbooks and popular writings omitting any mention of significant contributions from the many peoples from other cultures who have been part of the development of America since the beginning. Recent attempts to include in history books and social studies materials information about non-European achievements are shown to be appendages rather than integral to the main body of information. In the Report, European culture is likened to the master of a house ruling over a dinner table, himself firmly established at the head of the table and all other cultures being guests from some distance down the table from the master, who has invited the others through his beneficence.

The Report then identifies some curricular materials that are of high quality, indicating that some progress has been made. But because the entire structure of the curriculum is shown to be flawed, an alternative conceptual approach is presented. The Task Force promotes the idea that all curricular materials be prepared on the basis of multicultural contributions to the development of all aspects of our society. Such a balanced, integrated approach is seen as serving the interests of all children from all cultures: children from Native American, Puerto Rican/Latino, Asian American, and African American cultures will have higher self-esteem and self-respect, while children from European cultures will have a less arrogant perspective of being part of the group that has "done it all." Again using the dinner table analogy, the new model is likened to the fabled Round Table of King Arthur, with all cultures offering something to the collective good, each knowing and respecting others, and each gaining from the contribution of others; no culture is master of the new table.

The Task Force makes nine recommendations to accomplish what it sees as necessary reforms in the state's curriculum, ranging from a revision of many curricular materials to the revision of teacher education and school administrator programs. ■

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In the Fall of 1990, in response to the proposed revisions of curriculum in New York State, Diane Ravitch and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. prepared a statement issued by the Committee of Scholars in Defense of History. Those signing the statement at the end are listed as they were known on March 15, 1991.

STATEMENT: Of the Committee of Scholars In Defense of History

As scholars, we are gravely concerned about the proposed revision of the State of New York's history curriculum. We invite the attention of our fellow citizens both to the task force report of July 1989 calling for fundamental changes in the state's approach to the teaching of history and to the pending appointment by the Board of Regents of a panel to revise the curriculum along the lines demanded in the report.

The history taught to the children of the state must meet the highest standards of accuracy and integrity. We steadfastly oppose the politicization of history, no matter how worthy the motive. Therefore we have joined together to inform our fellow citizens about what is going on, to monitor the revision process, and to assess the projected changes in the teaching and testing of American and world history.

The situation is as follows. In July 1989 a task force on minorities, appointed by the New York Commissioner of Education, submitted a report to the Board of Regents calling for revision of the history curriculum. The task force did not include a single historian.

The report, a polemical document, viewed division into racial groups as the basic analytical framework for an understanding of American history. It showed no understanding of the integrity of history as an intellectual discipline based on commonly accepted standards of evidence. It saw history rather as a form of social and psychological therapy whose function is to raise the self-esteem of children from minority groups.

The Regents endorsed the report and authorized the revision of the history curriculum by a panel of twenty-one persons. Of this group, six to eight are to be scholars distributed among the seven fields; the panel might well end up with one historian. "Care will be taken," the Regents add, "to ensure that among the active participants will be scholars and teachers who represent the ethnic and cultural groups under consideration" — which sounds like an invitation to each group to write, or veto, its own history.

The members of the Committee of Scholars in Defense of History are, we believe, citizens well known for their commitment to equal rights and their rejection of any form of racism in the schools and in society. We are also united in our belief in a pluralistic interpretation of American history and our support for such shamefully neglected fields as the history of women, of immigration, and of minorities.

"We condemn the reduction of history to ethnic cheerleading on the demand of pressure groups."

We have an equal commitment to standards of historical scholarship. We condemn the reduction of history to ethnic cheerleading on the demand of pressure groups. And we reject as unfair and insulting the implicit assumption in the task force report that minorities are incapable of absorbing first class education.

We have a further concern. The Commissioner of Education's task force contemptuously dismisses the Western tradition. Recognition of its influence on American culture, the task force declares, has a "terribly damaging effect on the psyche" of children from non-European cultures. No evidence is adduced to support his proposition, and much evidence argues against it.

The Western tradition is the source of the ideas of individual freedom and political democracy to which most of the world now aspires. The West has committed its share of crimes against humanity, but the Western democratic philosophy also contains in its essence the means of exposing crimes and

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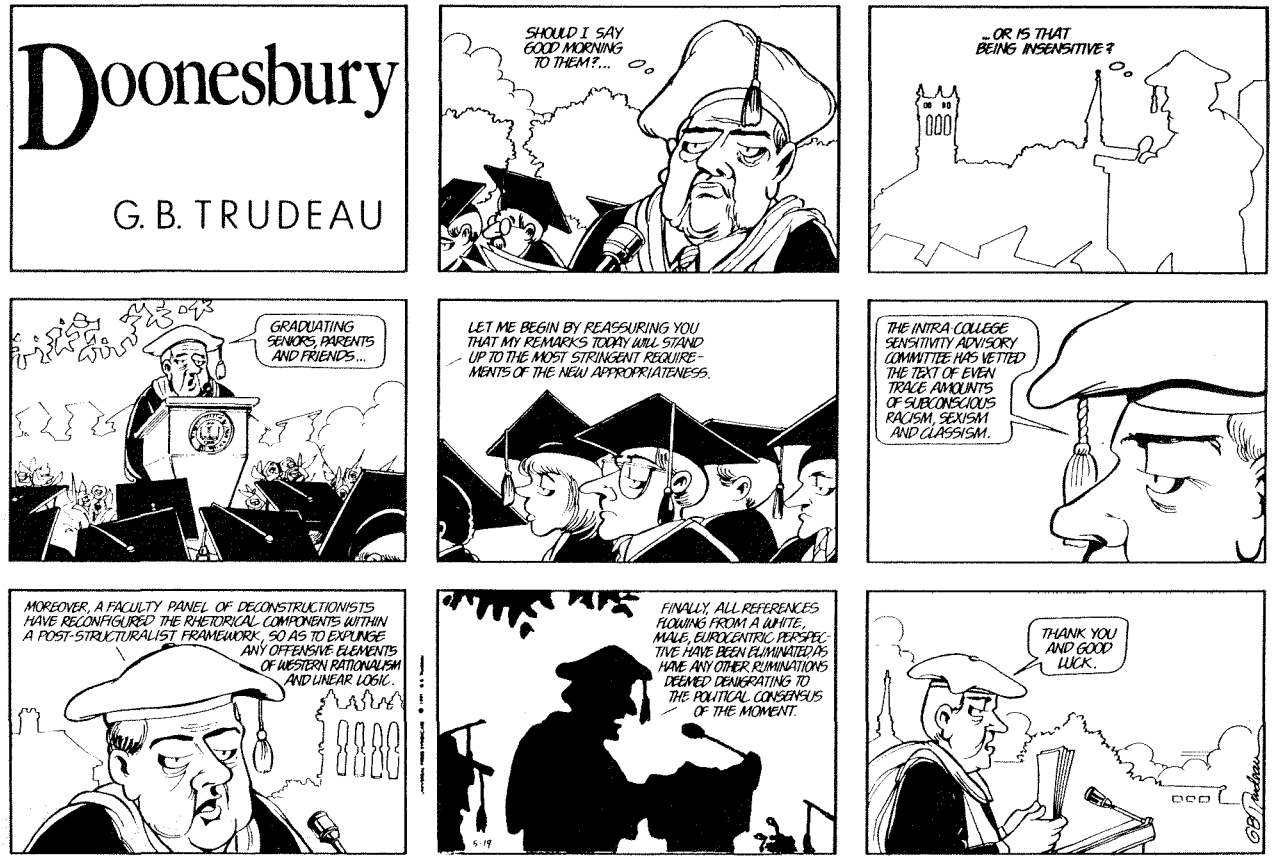
producing reforms. This philosophy has included and empowered people of all nations and races. Little can be more damaging to the psyches of young blacks, Hispanics, Asians, and Indians than for the State of New York to tell them that the Western tradition is not for them.

And little can have more damaging effect on the republic than the use of the school system to promote the division of our people into antagonistic racial groups. We are after all a nation — as Walt Whitman said, "a teeming Nation of nations" — and history enables us to understand the bonds of cohesion that make for nationhood and a sense of the common good: *unum e pluribus*.

Thus, because of the way this revisionism has come about and because historians have thus far been seriously underrepresented in the revision process, we find it necessary to constitute ourselves as a professional review committee to monitor and assess the work of the Commissioner's panel. We will insist that the state history curriculum reflect honest and conscientious scholarship and accurately portray the forging of this nation from the experiences of many different groups and peoples.

The children of New York deserve no less than the best.

Diane Ravitch and Arthur Schlesinger, jr., joined by Thomas Bender, John Morton Blum, James MacGregor Burns, Jerome Bruner, Robert Caro, Kenneth B. Clark, Henry Steele Commager, Carl Degler, David Herbert Donald, Frances Fitzgerald, David L. Garrow, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Eugene Genovese, Henry Graff, Hugh Davis Graham, Paul Hollander, Akira Iriye, Michael Kammen, Stanley N. Katz, William Leuchtenburg, Arthur Link, Hubert G. Locke, Paul MacKendrick, William Manchester, William H. McNeill, Stuart Prall, Richard Sennett, Hans Trefousse, Richard Wade, Sean Wilentz, C. Vann Woodward. ■


Doonesbury
G. B. TRUDEAU
SHOULD I SAY GOOD MORNING TO THEM?...
...OR IS THAT BEING INSENSITIVE?
GRADUATING SENIORS, PARENTS AND FRIENDS...
LET ME BEGIN BY REASSURING YOU THAT MY REMARKS TODAY WILL STAND UP TO THE MOST STRINGENT REQUIREMENTS OF THE NEW APPROPRIATENESS.
THE INTRA-COLLEGE SENSITIVITY ADVISORY COMMITTEE HAS VETTED THE TEXT OF EVEN TRACE AMOUNTS OF SUBCONSCIOUS RACISM, SEXISM AND CLASSISM.
MOREOVER, A FACULTY PANEL OF DECONSTRUCTIONISTS HAVE RECONFIGURED THE RHETORICAL COMPONENTS WITHIN A POST-STRUCTURALIST FRAMEWORK, SO AS TO EXPUNGE ANY OFFENSIVE ELEMENTS OF WESTERN RATIONALISM AND LINEAR LOGIC.
FINALLY, ALL REFERENCES FLOWING FROM A WHITE, MALE, EUROCENTRIC PERSPECTIVE HAVE BEEN ELIMINATED AS HAVE ANY OTHER RUMINATIONS DEEMED DENIGRATING TO THE POLITICAL CONSENSUS OF THE MOMENT.
THANK YOU AND GOOD LUCK.
GBTrudeau

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On the issue of defending Western Civilization and its place in the curriculum of America's schools, one statement seems to have emerged from among several others as a succinct defense of a core of culture for the US, and that is the speech by Dean Donald Kagan welcoming the class of 1994 to the Yale College campus on September 1, 1990. Reprinted from Commentary, *January 1991, by permission; all rights reserved.*

THE ROLE OF THE WEST

By Donald Kagan

Ladies and gentlemen of the Class of 1994, parents, and friends, greetings and welcome to Yale. To a greater degree than ever before this class is made up of a sampling, not of Connecticut, not of New England, not even of North America, but of all the continents of the world. As I stood a year ago greeting the Class of 1993 I was thrilled by how much Yale and America have been enriched in the three centuries since its foundation by the presence and the contribution of the many racial and ethnic groups rarely if ever represented in Yale's early years. The greater diversity among our faculty and student body, as in the American people at large, is a source of strength and it should be a source of pride as well.

But ethnic and racial diversity is not without its problems. Few governments and societies have been able to combine diversity with internal peace, harmony, freedom, and the unity required to achieve these goals. Perhaps the greatest success in ancient times was achieved by the Roman Empire, which absorbed a wide variety of peoples under a single government, generally tolerated cultural diversity, and gradually granted to all Roman citizenship, the rule of law, and equality before the law. But the Romans had imposed their rule over independent nations by force and maintained peace and order by its threat. From the nations whose cultures they tolerated they did not create a single people; they did not and they could not rely on the voluntary and enthusiastic participation in government and society of a unified population, as a modern democratic republic must.

From the Middle Ages until its collapse in 1918, the Hapsburg Empire did a remarkable job of bringing a great variety of different ethnic groups into the main stream of government and society, but it never succeeded in dissolving the distinct identities of the different groups, living together in separate communities, speaking their native languages, competing and quarreling with one another, and finally hostile to the dominant ethnic groups. The destruction of the Hapsburg Empire and its dissolution into smaller units did not end ethnic dissension, which threatens the survival of such successor states as Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia.

In our time nationalism and ethnicity have emerged as immensely powerful forces, for good, but also for evil. Optimistic hopes for a diminution of differences among peoples and for a movement toward the unity of all mankind have been dashed as national and ethnic hostilities have played a major part in bringing on two terrible world wars. Even today they endanger the integrity of the Soviet Union and threaten peace both in Europe and in Africa. They have brought interethnic slaughter to Nigeria and all but destroyed the beautiful land of Lebanon.

From its origins the United States of America has faced a new challenge and opportunity. Its early settlers from the old world were somewhat diverse but had much in common. Most were British, spoke English, and practiced some form of Protestant Christianity. Before long, however, people of many different ethnic, religious, and national origins arrived with different cultural traditions, speaking various languages. Except for the slaves brought from Africa, most came voluntarily, as families and individuals, usually eager to satisfy desires that could not be met in their former homelands. They swiftly became citizens and, within a generation or so, Americans. In our own time finally, after too long a delay, African-Americans also have achieved freedom, equality before the law, and full citizenship. People of different origins live side by side, often in ethnic communities, but never in enclaves of the country separated from other such conclaves. Although some inherit greater advantages than others, all are equal before the law, which does not

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recognize ethnic or other groups but only individuals. Each person is free to maintain old cultural practices, abandon them for ones found outside his ethnic group, or to create some mixture or combination.

Our country is not a nation like most others. "Nation" comes from the Latin word for birth: a nation is a group of people of common ancestry, a breed. Chinese, Frenchmen, and Swedes feel a bond that ties them to their compatriots as to a greatly extended family and provides the unity and commitment they need. But Americans do not share a common ancestry and a common blood. They and their forebears come from every corner of the earth. What they have in common and what brings them together is a system of laws and beliefs that shaped the establishment of the country, a system developed within the context of Western Civilization. It should be obvious, then, that all Americans need to learn about that civilization if we are to understand our country's origins, and share in its heritage, purposes, and character.

"It is both right and necessary to place Western Civilization and the culture to which it has given rise at the center of our studies..."

At present, however, the study of Western Civilization in our schools and colleges is under heavy attack. We are told that we should not give a privileged place in the curriculum to the great works of its history and literature. At the extremes of this onslaught the civilization itself, and therefore its study, is attacked because of its history of slavery, imperialism, racial prejudice, addiction to war, its exclusion of women and people not of the white race from its rights and privileges. Some criticize its study as narrow, limiting, arrogant, and discriminatory, asserting that it has little or no value for those of different cultural origins. Others concede the value of the Western heritage but regard it as only one among many, all of which have equal claim to our attention. These attacks are unsound. It is both right and necessary to place Western Civilization and the culture to which it has given rise at the center of our studies, and we fail to do so at the peril of our students, our country, and of the hopes for a democratic, liberal society emerging throughout the world today.

In response to those who claim that Western culture is relevant only to a limited group, it is enough to quote W.E.B. DuBois, the African-American intellectual political leader, writing at the turn of the century in a Jim Crow America: "I sit with Shakespeare and he winces not. Across the color line I walk arm in arm with Balzac and Dumas, where smiling men and welcoming women glide in gilded halls. From out of the caves of evening that swing between the strong-limbed earth and the tracery of the stars, I summon Aristotle and Aurelius and what soul I will, and they come all graciously with no scorn or condescension. So, wed with Truth, I dwell above the veil." For him the wisdom of the West's great writers was valuable for all, and he would not allow himself or others to be deprived of it because of the accident of race. Such was and is the view of the millions of people of both genders and every ethnic group who have personally experienced the value and significance of the Western heritage.

The assault on the character of Western Civilization badly distorts history. Its flaws are real enough, but they are common to almost all the civilizations known on any continent at any time in human history. What is remarkable about the Western heritage and what makes it essential is the important ways in which it has departed from the common experience. More than any other it has asserted the claims of the individual against those of the state, limiting its power and creating a realm of privacy into which it cannot penetrate. By means of the philosophical, scientific, agricultural and industrial revolutions that have taken place in the West, human beings have been able to produce and multiply the things needed for life so as to make survival and prosperity possible for ever-increasing numbers, without rapacious wars and at a level that permits dignity and independence. It is the champion of representative democracy as the normal way for human beings to govern themselves, in place of the different varieties of monarchy, oligarchy, and tyranny that have ruled most of the human race throughout history and rule most of the world today. It has produced the theory and practice of the separation of church from state, thereby protecting

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each from the other and creating a free and safe place for the individual conscience. At its core is a tolerance and respect for diversity unknown in most cultures. One of its most telling characteristics is its encouragement of criticism of itself and its ways. Only in the West can one imagine a movement to neglect the culture's own heritage in favor of some other. The university itself, a specially sheltered place for such self-examination, is a Western phenomenon only partially assimilated in other cultures.

My claim is that most of the sins and errors of Western Civilization are those of the human race. Its special achievements and values, however, are gifts to all humanity and are widely seen as such around the world today, although its authorship is rarely acknowledged. People everywhere envy not only its science and technology but also its freedom and popular government and the institutions that make them possible. Their roots are to be found uniquely in the experience and ideas of the West. Western culture and institutions are the most powerful paradigm in the world today. As they increasingly become the objects of emulation by peoples everywhere, their study becomes essential for those of all nations who wish to understand their nature and origins. How odd that Americans should choose this moment to declare it irrelevant, unnecessary, and even vicious.

There is, in fact, great need to make the Western heritage the central and common study in American schools, colleges and universities today. Happily, student bodies have grown vastly more diverse. Less happily, students are seeing themselves increasingly as parts of groups, distinct from other groups. They often feel pressure to communicate mainly with others like themselves within the group and to pursue intellectual interests that are of particular importance to it. The result that threatens is a series of discrete experiences in college, isolated from one another, segregated, and partial. But a liberal education needs to bring about a challenge to the ideas, habits, and attitudes that students bring with them, so that their vision may be broadened, their knowledge expanded, their understanding deepened. That challenge must come from studies that are unfamiliar, sometimes uncomfortably so, and from a wide variety of fellow students from many different backgrounds, holding different opinions, expressing them freely to one another, and exploring them together.

If the students are to educate each other in this way some part of their studies must be in common, and their natural subject is the experience of which our country is the heir and of which it remains an important part. There is, after all, a common culture in our society, itself various, changing, rich with contributions of Americans who come or whose ancestors came from every continent in the world, yet recognizably and unmistakably American. At this moment in history an objective observer would have to say that it derives chiefly from the experience of Western Civilization, and especially from England, whose language and institutions are the most copious springs from which American culture draws its life. I say that without embarrassment, as an immigrant from a tiny country on the fringe of the West, without any connection with the Anglo-Saxon founders of the United States. Our students will be handicapped in their lives after college if they do not have a broad and deep knowledge of the culture in which they live and the roots from which it comes.

"The founders...kept a continuing and respected place for the plurality of the various groups that made up the country, but they emphasized the unity which was essential for its well-being."

There are implications, too, for our public life. Constitutional government and democracy are not natural blessings; they are far from common in the world today, and they have been terribly rare in the history of the human race. They are the product of some peculiar developments in the history of Western Civilization, and they, too, need to be thoroughly understood by all our citizens if our way of governing ourselves is to continue and flourish. We must all understand how it works, how it came to be, and how hard it is to sustain.

Our country was invented and has grown strong by achieving unity out of diversity while respecting the importance and integrity of the many elements that make it up. The founders chose as a slogan *e pluribus unum*, which kept a continuing and

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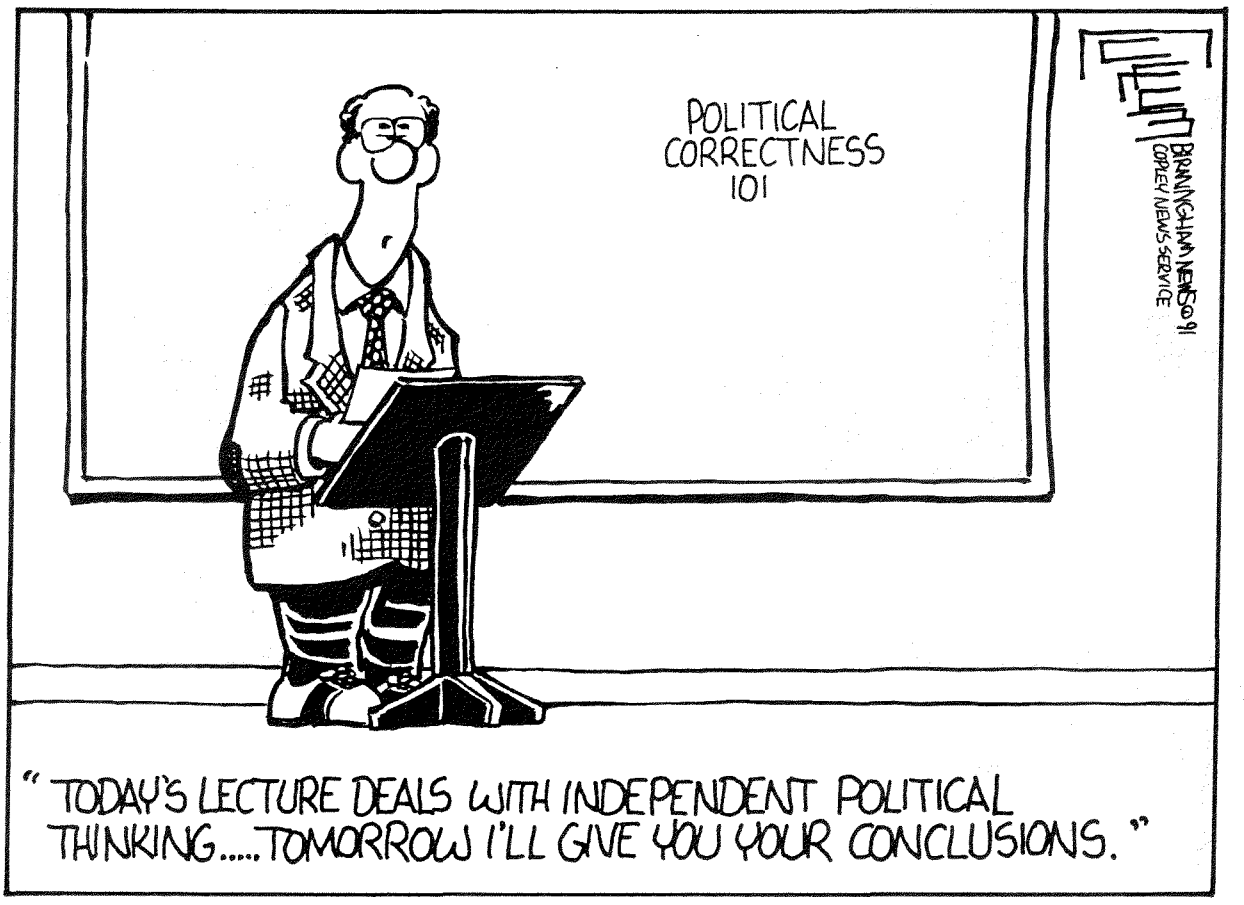
respected place for the plurality of the various groups that made up the country, but they emphasized the unity which was essential for its well-being. During the revolution that brought us independence, Benjamin Franklin addressed his colleagues, different from one another in so many ways, yet dependent on one another for survival and success, using a serious pun to make his point. He told them they must all hang together or assuredly they would all hang separately. That warning still has meaning for Americans today. As our land becomes more diverse the danger of separation, segregation by ethnic group, mutual suspicion and hostility increases and with it the danger to the national unity which, ironically, is essential to the qualities that attracted its many people to this country. Our colleges and universities have a great responsibility to communicate and affirm the value of our common heritage, even as they question it and continue to broaden it with rich new elements.

Ladies and gentlemen of the Class of 1994, you, too, have important responsibilities. Take pride in your family, and in the culture they and your forbears have brought to our shores. Learn as much as you can about that culture and share it with all of us. Learn as much as you can of what the particular cultures of others have to offer. But most important, do not fail to learn the great traditions that are the special gifts of that Western Civilization which is the main foundation of our university and our country. Do not let our separate heritages draw us apart and build walls between us, but use them to enrich the whole. In that way they may join with our common heritage to teach us, to bring us together as friends, to unite us into a single people seeking common goals, to make a reality of the ideal inherent in the motto *e pluribus unum.*

* * * *


POLITICAL CORRECTNESS 101
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"TODAY'S LECTURE DEALS WITH INDEPENDENT POLITICAL THINKING.....TOMORROW I'LL GIVE YOU YOUR CONCLUSIONS."

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It was just two years ago in July of 1989 that a committee studying school curriculum in New York State came up with its recommendations for altering the program of studies in the state's schools. This report has fostered intense reconsideration of the wave of "political correctness" that has blossomed on the country's campuses. Michael Novak, author of The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics, *finds a condemnation of pluralism in this repudiation of America's European roots. Philosopher, journalist, and former US ambassador, Mr. Novak directs social and political studies at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington, DC. This column is reprinted by permission of* Forbes *magazine, July 9, 1990.*
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A CALL FOR DISUNITY

By Michael Novak

A generation ago, social scientists were predicting the disappearance of ethnicity, as freeways and television and plastic produced a homogenized culture that might one day be designated (from discovered ruins) as "Early Period Holiday Inn." Little did they anticipate the furies that would be unleashed in Azerbaijan and other Soviet republics as the century neared its end; the bitter hatreds of Northern Ireland and Lebanon; the separatist itch of Quebec. Or the growing intensity of ethnic conflict in New York City and other hot spots in the US.

Against that trend, in 1972 I published *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*, predicting that the 1970s would mark the emergence of the "ethnics" in American life. Several other scholars writing at the time made the same point. And, indeed, many politicians with a strong ethnic identity did emerge from obscurity: Cuomo, Mikulski, Celeste, DeConcini, Deukmejian, Rostenkowski. These were the children of the immigrants from Eastern and Southern Europe, and by extension all the others who did not quite feel included in the high culture of New England's Brahmins.

"Until recently the US had a unique method for bringing together diverse peoples — who elsewhere, under different systems, were often murdering one another."

In those days, we made a distinction between "the new ethnicity" and the old. In the old days, people living in ethnic conclaves had hardly known any other peoples, except as strangers and rivals. Many soldiers first met the "others" in their platoons in World War II. This was the old ethnicity.

In the new ethnicity, by contrast, nurtured chiefly in the inner suburbs, people now lived next to, and went to school with, "the others," had forgotten their parents' mother tongue, and yet were children of a distinctive tradition with identifiable political habits.

This rediscovery also gripped that first generation of blacks after *Brown v. Board of Education*, led brilliantly by Martin Luther King, Jr. Alex Haley's famous book *Roots*—and the television miniseries—struck a powerful chord in all Americans, not only blacks.

Until recently the US had a unique method for bringing together diverse people—who elsewhere, under different systems, were often murdering one another. Our system taught them to live as good neighbors, gradually to respect one another, and to take pride in civic cooperation. This system was a model emulated around the world. Until recently.

Suddenly, ethnicity has turned virulent. Last July [1989] the New York State Commissioner of Education issued a report calling "European culture and its derivatives" oppressive. The report debunked "the European-American monocultural perspective." In short, it suggested that the American way of pluralism was a bad thing and that the "American idea" was a fraud.

It is quite legitimate to demand, as does this New York report, appreciation for "the history, achievements, aspirations and concerns of people of all cultures." But it is far too much to demand an "equal" focus on all cultures. For not all cultures on this earth have produced institutions and ideas such

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as those that animated the Declaration of Independence of July 4, 1776. Compared with Eastern Europe or sub-Saharan Africa or Red China, God *did* bless America.

Not in Africa nor in Asia nor in Latin America nor in large stretches of northeastern Europe can one find the cultural roots that lie behind the US Constitution, or the habits and institutions that give the Constitution its daily relevance and force. That Constitution is no parchment barrier, quite particular experiences lie behind it. This history must be learned afresh by every generation. Truths "self-evident" to the framers were intended to become valid for all, whatever their land of origin.

The primary task of education should be to keep alive the particular ideas and institutions that inspired the design of this new American system. This system was without model or precedent on the face of the earth when it began and remains today a beacon for much of the world.

Forget those "European-American" ideas that suffuse the US Constitution, and this nation will swiftly descend into the racial and ethnic strife recurrent elsewhere on this planet. Thus, those rumblings of last July from New York on the Commissioner of Education's office portend ethnic splintering and institutional disarray. What this can lead to is painfully evident in the picketing outside the shops of Korean merchants in New York City by certain extremists, and in many other ill omens.

What Americans pledge allegiance to on July 4 is not a piece of geography or a royal history or a language or a folk, but a form of governance, "the Republic." Take away the Republic and the deal is off. Take away those self-evident truths on which it rests, and the Republic falls. Some forms of "pluralism" and "diversity" destroy.

* * * *

"So quite simply, it is an immigration nepotism, manipulated on the one hand by 'open border' liberals and on the other by the 'cheap labor' conservatives, neither of which even begins to understand the new world in which power and national health depend not so much upon military might as on maintaining the highest level of economic strength."

— Georgie Anne Geyer
commenting on the Morrison bill
in *The Washington Times*
October 25, 1990

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Dr. Frank Morris is Dean of Graduate Studies and Urban Research at Morgan State University, Baltimore, and a member of the Board of Directors at the Center for Immigration Studies in Washington, DC. Citing the need of black Americans for places in the nation's labor force, he presented this view on legal immigration reform to the House Sub-committee on Immigration, Refugees and International Law on March 13, 1990.

Re: LEGAL IMMIGRATION REFORM

By Frank Morris

I welcome this opportunity to comment on the legal immigration reform proposals now before the House of Representatives, which have potentially far-reaching consequences for current and future African-American workers. As a former Executive Director of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, and currently responsible for the work of the Center for Urban Research at Morgan State, I have reviewed considerable data on the effects of our current liberal immigration policies on the conditions of black Americans and on inter-ethnic relations. This statement, however, does not necessarily represent the views of Morgan State University or the Center for Urban Research.

My first concern is that the black community, in looking at the slow rate of growth of our numbers in the labor force and our increasing need for higher skills, may find that any encouraging assumptions we had about opportunities for young black workers and prospective workers have been sidetracked by hasty immigration policies.

We had been encouraged by recent studies, such as the Hudson Institute's *Workforce 2000* and the Department of Labor's *Opportunity 2000*, which underscore a vital national need to develop urgently the human capital of our minority citizens. We had hoped that this need to utilize all our citizens in the work force could, for once, convince America, in its own best interest, to commit itself to the development of the talents of even its most neglected citizens.

But when I examine these legislative proposals to again expand the admission of skilled and unskilled workers, I fear that these comforting assumptions about developing our own home grown human capital are no longer an important part of the equation. It is particularly troubling that no studies have been made to determine what impact the proposed expansion of foreign worker intake would have on the incentives of employers, the governemt and the schools to develop the needed skills of those already here.

The nation's immigration policies and practices of the past decade—legal immigration, non-immigrant admissions and tolerated illegal immigration—have permitted the foreign-born population to grow by about 750,000 yearly. This rate of growth, 4 percent a year, is nearly six times the natural growth rate of the domestic population. As a result, the foreign born population, which was 6.2 percent of the total in the 1980 census, will approach 9 percent in the 1990 census.

"It is clear that America's black population is bearing a disproportionate share of immigrants' competition for jobs, housing and social services."

This remarkable growth of the immigrant population is most intense in areas where African-Americans have a major presence and have important interests. Much of the increase in the foreign-born population is concentrated in relatively few major metropolitan areas where sizable African-American populations now reside. A quarter of the growth of the nation's labor force now comes from immigration, while immigrants' share of the public school population has increased even more rapidly.

It is clear that America's black population is bearing a disproportionate share of immigrants' competition for jobs, housing and social services. While each year's immigrant cohort brings the nation some needed technical and professional skills, illegal immigration and the system's heavy reliance on family reunification yields a sizeable and growing segment of immigrants whose educational deficien-

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cies and low skills parallel those of many black Americans who are struggling to rise out of poverty.

About half of last year's nearly 900,000 legal and illegal immigrants, refugees, asylees and parolees can be expected to enter the labor market. Some 40 to 45 percent of them will settle in six major metropolitan statistical areas (MSAs): New York, Los Angeles, Miami, Chicago, Houston and San Francisco-Oakland. Some 5.6 million black Americans, nearly one-fifth of the nation's black population, now live and work in those six MSAs. Perhaps millions more would consider migrating to those cities from high unemployment areas if the job prospects for black Americans were brighter.

Many of the 1989 immigrants, like those in earlier years of the decade, will be forced by their limited skills to seek employment in occupations in which African-Americans are already over-represented: building services and maintenance, construction, apparel- and other light manufacturing, non-professioanl health care jobs, and hotel and restaurant work. African-Americans in these occupations understandably would be particularly skeptical about claims of "labor shortages." These fields of work are among those where the stagnation of real wages for the less skilled is greatest, where unemployment is significantly higher than the national average, and where the period of unemployment after displacement or layoff tends to be longer than normal.

"African-Americans also pay a higher price for mass immigration than other Americans in terms of its consequences for the quality of public education in major American cities."

There is little basis for repeated assurances that African-Americans have not been harmed by heavy immigration of the less-skilled during the past two decades. Many of the immigrants compete directly with blacks in the same labor markets and occupations, and have become substitutes for black workers more often than they have become complements.

Studies claiming to show insignificant change in rates of African-American unemployment or labor force participation fail to take into account employment opportunities closed to black Americans who might otherwise migrate to metropolitan labor markets increasingly impacted by immigration. The pervasive effects of ethnic-network recruiting and the spread of non-English languages in the workplace has, in effect, locked many blacks out of occupations where they once predominated. Heavy immigration is affecting the mobility of black workers and altering migration patterns within the United States. The rate of African-American migration to Los Angeles and other major urban areas in California has slowed markedly in the past two decades. Professor Vernon Briggs of Cornell University finds that a major factor in the rising percentage of African-Americans resettling in the south since the 1960s is the resumption of mass immigration into eastern, mid-western and western cities.

African-Americans also pay a higher price for mass immigration than other Americans in terms of its consequences for the quality of public education in major American cities. Department of Education data show the following major urban school districts most impacted by limited English proficiency (LEP) students and other foreign-born persons requiring special programs to assist their adjustment to US society: Los Angeles Unified, Dade County (Florida), Chicago, San Francisco Unified, New York City, and the Houston Independent School District. Black children, many of whom have severe unmet educational needs, have a major presence in all of these school districts. Shrinking federal and state resources, rising numbers of foreign-born children with special needs, and lack of commitment to quality public education for all in our cities, have ill-served black children, even in well-intentioned school districts.

Unfortunately, I can only conclude that the various bills under consideration in the House will, in varying degrees, worsen all of these problems. Provisions in the Berman, Morrison and Fish bills to allow unlimited immigration of spouses and minor children of permanent resident aliens are likely to double the total legal immigration over the next few years as the current second-preference backlog is absorbed and immediate relatives of nearly 3 million amnestied aliens are admitted. Much of the intake

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will enter the labor force as low-skilled workers, more likely to compete with black workers than complement them. Since much of this heavy flow is to reunify families, we can reasonably expect an even greater concentration of those admitted in the early 1990s in the five or six top immigrant-receiving MSAs, with further dilution of public education resources in those cities and increased distress for the low-cost housing market.

The Schumer and Morrison bills in the House, like S.358 in the Senate, increase the intake of temporary foreign workers to varying degrees—the Morrison bill significantly. Black Americans reject the assumption of labor shortages underlying all these proposals and would see them as attempts to use immigration policy to loosen a tight labor market that is just now beginning to stimulate employers to offer American minorities, including earlier immigrants, a rare opportunity to gain training, improve their bargaining power, and better their wages, conditions and employment prospects.

I recognize that the bills include presumed safeguards for the competitive position of American workers, such as labor certification in some cases, limits on recruitment of foreign workers, a 9 percent tax on employers, and employer liability for repatriation. But I am convinced that disadvantaged American workers, with their limited political clout, either cannot count on such measures to survive the legislative pruning now underway (indeed, the proposed tax on employers has already dropped from 15 to 9 percent) or to be allowed to function as intended if enacted. The history of the implementation of the migrant labor (Bracero) agreement, the H-2 program, and the other non-immigrant temporary labor provisions of current law such as H-1 and L-1 suggest that employer concerns can be expected to override workers' interests in the implementation.

I urge members of the Judiciary and Labor committees to resist impulses to rush toward sharp increases in the nation's already high level of immigration, or to use immigration policy to impede or delay the working of natural labor market forces that are highly promising for disadvantaged US workers. Thank you. ■

Toward a Secure Personal Identification

When it comes to tamper-proof identification cards, the nation could learn a lesson from California's Department of Motor Vehicles. Complete with holograms, encoded magnetic strips and super-sharp photographs, the DMV's new high-tech driver's licenses unveiled last week could be a model for the type of national ID card necessary to make immigration reform work.

The new documents have two attributes that are particularly appealing: (1) They are virtually counterfeit-proof because the information they contain is embedded in plastic, not merely typed on easily altered paper. Any attempt at forgery almost certainly would destroy the license. At the very least, it would notably alter the mosaic of holograms of the state and DMV logos that stretch across the document's face.

(2) A magnetic strip on the back of the licenses, encoded with all pertinent data, allows verification of information to occur almost instantly via readout devices connected with DMV records. This allows merchants accepting checks to quickly verify names and addresses. And law-enforcement officials, using a more comprehensive system, can instantly retrieve even more detailed information — from a thumb print to a check for warrants and outstanding tickets.

Sound expensive? Actually, it's a money saver. The DMV estimates that the more-automated system will weed at least a million Californians a year out of DMV lines, at substantial savings to taxpayers. A cost-effective, tamper-proof, instantly informative ID card. That prospect should appeal to federal officials seeking solutions to the rampant fraud undermining current immigration policy. The new California driver's license proves that the technology is available. The only missing ingredient is political will. [From the San Diego (Calif) Tribune, January 21, 1991]

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Part of the mission of The Social Contract *is to bring to our readers some of the cogent items that have been written in previous years, the message of which is still valuable and applicable to the issues under consideration. The following piece by Henry Catto was written as a guest "My Turn" column for* Newsweek, *December 1, 1980, and is reprinted by permission. Mr. Catto is the current Director of the United States Information Agency. He has served several distinguished posts in government including ambassador to El Salvador and to the Court of St. James'.*

OUR LANGUAGE BARRIERS

By Henry E. Catto, Jr.

By the end of the next decade it is entirely possible that the United States will once again confront the fateful choice it faced in 1860: schism or civil war. The cause this time will be language, and the crisis will have resulted in no small measure from government policy.

Two recent events, coming with dramatic simultaneity, foreshadow this bleak future. The separatist election in Quebec showed the grim danger of two competing languages within one nation. And the Spanish armada of Cubans fleeing their wretched homeland is a clear reminder of what is happening to us. Unfortunately, like some vague vatic dream, the memory will fade and we will do nothing to avert the problem until it is too late.

The American tradition has been, of course, for each wave of immigrants to put aside its language, save for special occasions, and learn English. But in the mid 1960s, understandably anxious to overcome the problems of minorities, the Federal government in its zeal unwisely abandoned this tradition.

The beginning of it all was innocuous enough. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was amended by a $7.5 million pilot program that would allow a Spanish-speaking student to be taught his basics in Spanish; as his English improved, he would switch into it and not lag behind his peers.

Brainchild: In 1967 I testified in favor of this project before Sen. Ralph Yarborough's subcommittee. The bill was the brainchild of liberal Democrats. Its sponsors thought the favorable opinion of a Spanish-speaking South Texas Republican such as myself would be helpful. Aware of the benefits of being bilingual, I obliged. I know from experience that command of more than one tongue is enormously useful. In commerce, government, or society in general, multilingualism is a helpful tool and a mark of sophistication. The trend in America away from foreign-language study is a cause for legitimate concern. I have, however, come sorely to regret having testified for the pilot program; for, in the way of things governmental, the winsome babe has, in its maturity, turned monstrous.

The problem started in the courts. In 1974, in the case of *Lau v. Nichols*, the Supreme Court ruled that Chinese-speaking students in San Francisco were being discriminated against by being taught in English. It ordered relief but did not specify what form the relief should take. The office of Civil Rights of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare could have gone two ways to implement the decision: increase special English instruction or impose teaching in Chinese. With an unerring instinct for disaster, it chose the latter. Consider some of the results.

First, and most bizarre, students now have the *right* to be taught not only in Chinese or Spanish, but also in Aleut, Navajo, Apache, Japanese, Yiddish, Russian, Tagalog, or any of 60-odd additional tongues.

Second, the cost of the program, borne on the wings of the Lau decision, has soared. In 1981 it is projected to be $192 million, a beautiful example of how governmental acorns grow. Thus far, the program has cost $942,063,000.

Third, school districts (some 300 of them throughout the nation) which do not satisfactorily comply with these guidelines face a cutoff of vital federal funds. A "bilingual/bicultural" program is mandatory if there are twenty or more students of similar linguistic background in a district. There is no compelling law of the land in this loss of local control over local education. There are only proposed Department of Education regulations. Congress, in spite of the perversion if its idea, docilely continues

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to provide the funding which makes the travesty possible.

Finally, and not surprisingly, a vocal constituency in defense of the status quo has sprung up. The principal defenders are mostly Hispanics, a healthy sprinkling of the New Left reformers and teachers' organizations for whom bilingualism provides the twin treats of a cause perceived as progressive to fight for and thousands of teaching jobs. The whole matter reached the height of absurdity recently when the New Jersey teachers' lobby went to court to overturn a state rule requiring that teachers in bilingual programs be able to speak English. The New Jersey Education Association thought this rule to be racist, and it was clearly inconvenient for many teachers who could not speak English. As the *New York Times* tut-tutted editorially, bilingual is bilingual: "...it is one thing for any group to choose to lead a bilingual life, quite another for it to try to turn America into a bilingual society." The Federal court in Trenton fortunately ruled for inconvenience and upheld the state.

Magnet: Is there no way to turn the tide? Probably not. Floods of illegal immigrants continue to pour in from Mexico, Central America and South America. While some of these Spanish-speakers are dispersed throughout the country, many remain concentrated near points of entry — in Florida, Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. For these people, assimilation in the historic tradition is difficult. One can listen to Spanish radio, watch Spanish TV and even vote in Spanish. Add education in Spanish as a right, and the melting pot principle is in danger. Indeed, Dr. Josue Gonzalez, head of the Department of Education's bilingual program, is publicly on record as welcoming its end.

Here then are the ingredients: huge numbers of Spanish-speakers resident in the Southwest, supplemented by uncontrolled immigration; the linguistic magnet of Mexico, and the restless hunger of politicians for votes. Add a government policy whose results inevitably weaken the absolutely basic social cement of language (a policy which, incidentally, condescendingly implies that the Spanish-speaker, unlike the Italian, Swede, or Russian before him, cannot "hack it" in English without special help). The result: trouble. One nation indivisible? Don't count on it. ■

"I really believe that California is growing too fast and too big and that at some point will come a time of reckoning."

— Manuel Lujan, Jr.
US Secretary of the Interior
On a visit to the state in mid-March
to survey the water situation
Quoted by *The Los Angeles Times*

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Pockets of immigrants from other cultures have been part of the American scene since the inception of the Republic, but they have always been subject to the same laws as the rest of the populace. Today, when there is a violation of the law, we're starting to see a reliance on the so-called "cultural defense." One example of this is presented below from the June 25, 1990 National Law Journal, *© 1990, reprinted with permission.*

U.S., MEXICAN CULTURES CLASH IN CALIFORNIA

By Joel Simon

Dateline: Placerville, California.

During the eight months Ladislao Pastrana has spent in the El Dorado county jail here, he has been trying to remember exactly what happened on the night of May 11, 1989, when he nearly decapitated his friend Emilio Lopez with a machete.

"I remember getting drunk, joking around, and saying some words which maybe I shouldn't have said," he recalls, "But I can't remember how I got to jail."

The victim himself was also too drunk to remember how he got the gash on his head. But an eyewitness saw Mr. Lopez, the victim, leave his trailer with a kitchen knife. The witness heard the fight and saw Mr. Pastrana, a machete in his hand, standing over a prone Mr. Lopez.

But what appears to be a straightforward case of attempted murder is complicated by the fact that both Messrs. Pastrana and Lopez are Mixteco Indians from Oaxaca, Mexico. Despite spending at least part of every year for the past decade in the United States as migrant workers, they continue to live under the social, political and moral influence of their town in Mexico. The interpretation of guilt, responsibility and punishment among the Mixtecos differs sharply from the US legal system. Mr. Pastrana has spent the last eight months ruminating about these differences.

"Here I understand there are different laws," he says. "But I think the reason I am still in jail is because they don't realize we are friends from the same village."

Mr. Pastrana sits in pumpkin-colored prison garb with a number stamped in black letters across his breast pocket. During a recent interview, he is friendly but nervous; his large, powerful hands, out of sync with his small frame, tightly grasp the arms of his chair as he speaks in simple, rustic Spanish.

If the crime had occurred in his town, says Mr. Pastrana, he would have been jailed a few days and made to pay a fine. This is because the fight took place while he was drunk.

Under the Mixteco moral system based on collective well-being and reciprocal relations, Mr. Pastrana was morally obligated to accept Mr. Lopez's invitation to drink. Because the fight took place while he was fulfilling this social obligation, he is less responsible for his actions than if he were sober.

The US system of justice, which emphasizes punishment and isolation, stands in stark contrast with the Mexico system.

"In the case of antisocial behavior among the Mixtecos, the community would be more concerned with restoring harmony and equilibrium than with punishing the offender," says Stefano Varese, an anthropologist at the University of California at Davis who has worked with the Mixtecos.

Mr. Pastrana sees his incarceration as a form of banishment. "The community can't banish people, because everyone is expected to serve the community . . . over here it's different because each person has their own property. There we have community property. When everyone serves the community, we are in harmony."

Many legal scholars assert the fact that Mr. Pastrana comes from another culture makes him no less guilty of his crime. To determine guilt and punishment based on the mores and values of another culture, they argue, would undermine a basic principle of the US legal system — that of equal rights and responsibilities before the law.

"Being culturally sensitive does not require that we relinquish our own standards," says Alison Rentein, a professor of political science at the University of Southern California and an expert on

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cultural defense, the legal theory that asserts defendants should not be judged by US law if they act according to the norms of their own culture.

Dierde Evans-Pritchard, an anthropologist at the University of California at Los Angeles, argues that the legal system historically has been used as a means of forcing immigrants to assimilate into US society. "Law in the United States functions on an individual basis," she argues, noting that it would be legally questionable to bring a community's standards into court in a criminal trial.

While recent immigration, especially, from Asia and Latin America, is changing the face of California, Professor Evans-Pritchard says that certain traditional American ideals will continue to be upheld in the legal system.

"...the American legal system will continue to stifle individual rights if they conflict with the perceived interests of society."

"Now everyone wants to be a hyphenated American," she says, referring to use of such identifiers as African-American and Asian-American. "Everybody is looking for roots." This, she says, has translated into more leeway for immigrants in the legal system. But, she argues, the American legal system will continue to stifle individual rights if they conflict with the perceived interests of society.

"Americans stick to the Protestant ethic and the Ten Commandments within a capitalist framework, and this system will prevail," she says. "It would take a very clever lawyer to argue that rape should go unpunished" because the perpetrator was acting in accordance with the precepts of his own culture.

But while legal scholarship has focused on the courtroom, cultural differences may prevent a case from ever getting that far. In Mr. Pastrana's situation, a psychiatric evaluation by Shawn Johnston, a court appointed psychologist, determined that he was mentally retarded and therefore unfit to stand trial.

After a long interview and a number of psychological tests, Mr. Johnston concluded that Mr. Pastrana was severely retarded. He attributed his client's ignorance of the US legal system to his retardation, rather than his nationality.

But Mr. Johnston's findings were challenged by Professor Varese and Pedro Lewin, an anthropologist at the University of California at Berkeley who has also done work with the Mixtecos. In a report submitted to the judge, the anthropologist noted, "It is useless to try and judge the intelligence of a Mixteco Indian peasant from rural Mexico with a tool designed to measure the performance of intellectual skills which are required in urban Western culture . . . Pastrana is completely normal within his Mixteco peasant cultural norms and value system."

Mr. Pastrana himself was also miffed by the psychiatrist's findings. "I'm not educated," says Mr. Pastrana, who has only two years of formal schooling. "But I'm not a fool."

The judge accepted the anthropologist's findings and declared Mr. Pastrana fit to stand trial. Had he accepted the psychiatrist's report, Mr. Pastrana would have been incarcerated indefinitely as a violent, mentally retarded person.

While the case never came to trial, cultural factors helped Mr. Pastrana obtain a favorable plea bargaining agreement.

According to his attorney, Pat Forrester of the county Public Defender's office here, the judge in the case was sent a letter written by the mayor of Ixtantepec Nieves, Mr. Pastrana's town, and signed by the whole community. The letter asserted that the man was a member in good standing who had fulfilled his communal obligations. In addition, the fact that Mr. Lopez had returned to Oaxaca, and was not willing to testify at the trial, convinced the district attorney that he would not be able to obtain a conviction for attempted murder.

Mr. Pastrana pleaded guilty to assault with a deadly weapon and will serve one year in the county jail with credit for the eight months he has already served.

Ultimately for Mr. Pastrana, though, justice will have to wait until he can apologize to Mr. Lopez: "When I meet Emilio on the trail, I will tell him that I'm sorry, that I have nothing against him, but that what happened was because I was drunk." ■

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Dr. Garrett Hardin, Professor Emeritus of Human Ecology at the University of Southern California (Santa Barbara), has made important contributions to our thinking about population by bringing together ethics and biology. His ground-breaking 1968 essay, "The Tragedy of the Commons" was reprinted in the inaugural issue of The Social Contract. *This article was a guest essay in* Environmental Science: Sustaining the Earth *(Wadsworth, 1991) by G. Tyler Miller.*

CARRYING CAPACITY AND QUALITY OF LIFE

By Garrett Hardin

A competent physicist has placed the human carrying capacity of the globe at 50 billion—about 10 times the present world population. Before you are tempted to urge women to have more babies, consider what Robert Malthus said nearly 200 years ago: "There should be no more people in a country than could enjoy daily a glass of wine and piece of beef for dinner."

A diet of grain or bread is symbolic of minimum living standards; wine and beef are symbolic of all forms of higher living standards that make greater demands on the environment. When land used for the direct production of plants for human consumption is converted to growing crops for wine or corn for cattle, fewer calories get to the human population. Since carrying capacity is defined as the *maximum* number of animals (humans) an area can support, using part of the area to support such cultural luxuries as wine and beef reduces the carrying capacity. This reduced carrying capacity is called the *cultural carrying capacity*. Cultural carrying capacity is always less than simple carrying capacity.

Energy is the common coin in which all competing demands on the environment can be measured. Energy saved by giving up a luxury can be used to produce more bread and support more people. We could increase the simple carrying capacity of the earth by giving up any (or all) of the following "luxuries": street lighting; vacations; most private cars; air conditioning; and artistic performances of all sorts--drama, dancing, music, and lectures. Since the heating of buildings is not as efficient as multiple layers of clothing, space heating would be forbidden.

Is that all? By no means: to come closer to home, look at this book [*Environmental Science*]. The production and distribution of such an expensive treatise consume a great deal of energy. In fact, the energy bill for the whole of higher education is very high (which is one reason tuition costs so much). By giving up all education beyond the eighth grade, we could free enough energy to sustain millions more human lives.

"We can maximize the number of human beings living at the lowest possible level of comfort, or we can try to optimize the quality of life for a much smaller population."

At this point a skeptic might well ask: "Does God give a prize for maximum population?" From this brief analysis we can see that there are two choices. We can maximize the number of human beings living at the lowest possible level of comfort, or we can try to optimize the quality of life for a much smaller population.

What is the carrying capacity of the earth? is a scientific question. Scientifically, it may be possible to support 50 billion people at a "bread" level. But is this what we want? What is the cultural carrying capacity? requires that we debate questions of value, about which opinions differ.

An even greater difficulty must be faced. So far we have been treating the capacity question as a *global* question, as if there were a global sovereignty to enforce a solution on all people. But there is no global sovereignty ("one world"), nor is there any prospect of one in the foreseeable future. We must make do with nearly 200 national sovereignties. That

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means, as concerns the capacity problem, we must ask how nations are to coexist in a finite global environment if different sovereignties adopt different standards of living.

Consider a redwood forest. It produces no human food. Protected in a park, the trees do not even produce lumber for houses. Since people have to travel long distances to visit it, the forest is a net loss in the national energy budget. But those who are fortunate enough to wander quietly through the cathedral-like aisles of soaring trees report that the forest does something precious for the human spirit.

Now comes an appeal from a distant land where millions are starving because their population has overshot the carrying capacity. We are asked to save lives by sending food. So long as we have surpluses we may safely indulge in the pleasure of philanthropy. But the typical population in such poor countries increases by 2.1 percent a year—*or more*; that is, the country's population doubles every 33 years—or *less*. After we have run out of our surpluses, then what?

"...there has been overwhelming negative reaction to all proposals to make international philanthropy conditional upon the stopping of population growth..."

A spokesperson for the needy makes a proposal: "If you would only cut down your redwood forests, you could use the lumber to build houses and then grow potatoes on the land, shipping the food to us. Since we are all passengers together on Spaceship Earth, are you not duty bound to do so? Which is more precious, trees or human beings?"

The last question may sound ethically compelling, but let's look at the consequences of assigning a preemptive and supreme value to human lives. There are at least 2 billion people in the world who are poorer than the 32 million legally "poor" in America, and they are increasing by about 40 million per year. Unless this increase is brought to a halt, sharing food and energy on the basis of need would require the sacrifice of one amenity after another in rich countries. The final result of sharing would be complete poverty everywhere on the face of the earth to maintain the earth's simple carrying capacity. Is that the best humanity can do?

To date, there has been overwhelming negative reaction to all proposals to make international philanthropy conditional upon the stopping of population growth by the poor, overpopulated recipient nations. Foreign aid is governed by two apparently inflexible assumptions:

- The right to produce children is a universal, irrevocable right of every nation, no matter how hard it presses against the carrying capacity of its territory.
- When lives are in danger, the moral obligation of rich countries to save human lives is absolute and undeniable.

Considered separately each of these two well-meaning doctrines might be defended; together they constitute a fatal recipe. If humanity gives maximum carrying capacity questions precedence over problems of cultural carrying capacity, the result will be universal poverty and environmental ruin. The moral is a simple ecological commandment: *Thou shalt not transgress the carrying capacity.*

Or do you see an escape from the harsh dilemma?

* * * *

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Nobody Ever Dies of Overpopulation

By Garrett Hardin

Following the recent loss of life due to a cyclone in Bangladesh Dr. Garrett Hardin's 20 year-old column came to mind. It is here reprinted with permission from Science, *12 February 1971, Volume 171, Number 3971, © 1971 by the American Association for the Advancement of Science. Professor Hardin has retired from teaching in the biology department of the University of California at Santa Barbara.*

Those of us who are deeply concerned about population and the environment — "econuts," we're called, — are accused of seeing herbicides in trees, pollution in running brooks, radiation in rocks, and overpopulation everywhere. There is merit in the accusation.

I was in Calcutta when the cyclone struck East Bengal in November 1970. Early dispatches spoke of 15,000 dead, but the estimates rapidly escalated to 2,000,000 and then dropped back to 500,000. A nice round number: it will do as well as any, for we will never know. The nameless ones who died, "unimportant" people far beyond the fringes of the social power structure, left no trace of their existence. Pakistani parents repaired the population loss in just 40 days, and the world turned its attention to other matters.[1]

What killed those unfortunate people? The cyclone, newspapers said. But one can just as logically say that overpopulation killed them. The Gangetic Delta is barely above sea level. Every year several thousand people are killed in quite ordinary storms. If Pakistan were not overcrowded, no sane man would bring his family to such a place. Ecologically speaking, a delta belongs to the river and the sea; man obtrudes there at his peril.

In the web of life every event has many antecedents. Only by an arbitrary decision can we designate a single antecedent as "cause." Our choice is biased — biased to protect our egos against the onslaught of unwelcome truths. As T.S. Eliot put it in *Burnt Norton*:

> Go, go, go, said the bird: human kind
> Cannot bear very much reality.

Were we to identify overpopulation as the cause of a half-million deaths, we would threaten ourselves with a question to which we do not know the answer: *How can we control population without recourse to repugnant measures?* Fearfully we close our minds to an inventory of possibilities. Instead, we say that a cyclone caused the deaths, thus relieving ourselves of responsibility for this and future catastrophes. "Fate" is *so* comforting.

Every year we list tuberculosis, leprosy, enteric diseases, or animal parasites as the "cause of death" of millions of people. It is well known that malnutrition is an important antecedent of death in all these categories; and that malnutrition is connected with overpopulation. But overpopulation is not called the cause of death. We cannot bear the thought.

People are dying now of respiratory diseases in Tokyo, Birmingham, and Gary, because of the "need" for more industry. The "need" for more food justifies overfertilization of the land, leading to eutrophication of the waters, and lessened fish production — which leads to more "need" for food.

What will we say when the power shuts down some fine summer on our eastern seaboard and several thousand people die of heat prostration? Will we blame the weather? Or the power companies for not building enough generators? Or the econuts for insisting on pollution controls?

One thing is certain: we won't blame the deaths on overpopulation. No one ever dies of overpopulation. It is unthinkable.

[1] *The UN Population Card indicates that the population of Bangladesh has a net gain of 6 persons per minute. Please see the article about the Population Card on page 216.*

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From Birth to Battle

By Brad Edmondson

The war with Iraq is over. Our diplomats are making treaties with our enemies and sending weapons to our friends, as they have always done. They are missing the cheapest and most effective way to promote peace. They should send teachers.

Emerging research shows that women who can read have fewer babies than women who are illiterate. One of the best examples comes from India, where a group of demographers compared birthrates with illiteracy rates in 326 districts. Indian women in virtually illiterate areas have an average of 6.1 babies, according to William Retherford, a researcher at the East-West Center in Honolulu. When female literacy hits 40 percent, the total fertility rate drops to 4.2. At 80 percent, fertility is just high enough to keep the population growing slowly.

Other research shows that literate women tend to marry later, says Retherford. Once married, they are likely to enroll their children in school rather than putting them to work. Literate women are more likely to have interests outside the family. They know more about hygiene, so their children are more likely to survive. They are also more likely to use birth control.

The literacy-birthrate connection relates to war when you make another connection. The world's most warlike countries also have the world's highest birthrates.

In the 1980s, ten armed conflicts resulted in more than 100,000 deaths.

Five began before 1980, according to *World Military and Social Expenditures*. By far the largest was the Iran-Iraq war, which killed an estimated 1,000,000 civilians and soldiers. The Iraq-US war killed another 120,000, according to the Population Reference Bureau (PRB).

Iran and Iraq have annual birthrates of 45 or 46 births per 1,000 population, and nearly half (45 percent) of their populations are aged 15 or younger. The average birthrate for less-developed countries, excluding China, is 35 per 1,000, with 40 percent of the population aged 15 or younger, according to PRB. Even by Third World standards, Iranian and Iraqi women have a lot of babies.

The birth-to-battle connection also holds true for the other eight warring countries. Afghanistan lost 725,000 people to civil war and Soviet intervention. Ethiopia lost 539,000 to civil war and famine since 1974. Some 506,000 have died in Sudan, followed by Mozambique, 415,000; Angola, 341,000; and Uganda, 308,000. Each of these countries has a birthrate of 44 or more, with 44 to 49 percent of the population aged 15 or younger. Guatemala's birthrate is 40 per 1,000, and 138,000 have died in a civil war since 1955. Indonesia massacred 106,000 residents of East Timor between 1975 and 1989. Indonesia's birthrate is only 27 per 1,000. But in more developed countries such as the United States, Western Europe, and Japan, the annual birthrate averages just 15 per 1,000, according to the PRB.

Saddam Hussein found it easier to wage war than to develop a sound economy. Rather than face widespread unemployment and unrest among young Iraqi men, he simply enlisted them and sent them to die. Young Iraqi women will not check their childbearing as long as Middle Eastern culture discourages their education. The war may be over, but the birth-to-battle machine will keep running until we offer an alternative.

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American Demographics, May 1991

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Dan Stein wrote this column for the Miami Herald *of May 18, 1991 explaining that six months after then-Congressman Pete Wilson voted in favor of a bill to dramatically increase immigration, now-Governor Pete Wilson is contending with budget shortfalls caused by that very increase. Mr. Stein is executive director of the Federation for American Immigration Reform (FAIR) in Washington, DC.*

STATES, COUNTIES FOOT BILL FOR UNCHECKED IMMIGRATION

By Dan Stein

If people in Florida are casting a wary eye toward that other state noted for sun, fun and bountiful agriculture, it is perfectly understandable.

Both states have large and rapidly growing populations spurred by domestic and foreign migration. Both are feeling the strains of overdevelopment, scarcity of water, and the costs of rapid growth. Florida and California are also struggling to cope with a phenomenon that many had convinced themselves could not occur in these meccas of growth — recession.

While Florida has been hurt by the recession, California has been staggered by it. California's projected budget shortfall of nearly $13 billion this year is about the size of the combined GNPs of the oil-rich Gulf states of Oman and Qatar.

Nothing grabs a person's attention like the prospect of higher taxes or reduced services. And with the prospect of both staring Californians in the face, people are beginning to examine the state's balance sheets more closely.

In the space of a few days in April, both the governor and the chief executive officer of Los Angeles County came to the same conclusion: Large-scale immigration is imposing enormous fiscal burdens on California and particularly on its largest county, Los Angeles.

Similar effects have been felt in Florida, and Dade County in particular. Sen. Connie Mack, in a letter to President Bush about a year ago, complained that the influx of immigrants was draining state, county, and municipal resources.

Mack's former Senate colleague, Pete Wilson, is now governor of California. He is getting a first-hand lesson in the costs of immigration. During an April 16 meeting with California-newspaper editorial writers, Wilson complained that uncontrolled immigration (particularly illegal immigration) to his state was a prime contributor to California's budget woes. Wilson said that, while Washington's unwillingness to control the nation's borders "makes a fiction of the immigration law," federal law continues to impose new and costly burdens on the states.

"While the states are bearing the brunt of these costs, only the Federal Government can set and enforce immigration policy."

Wilson noted that federal law "requires states to provide a Medicaid program for illegal immigrants, as well as immigrants here legally, as well as "refugees," and that "the children of illegal immigrants be schooled at state expense." The cost to Florida, Mack has stated, "is expected to exceed $100 million" to respond "to the basic needs of this influx" of new immigrants.

While the states are bearing the brunt of these costs, only the Federal Government can set and enforce immigration policy. Echoing Mack's call "for the Federal Government to assist Florida," California's governor last month asserted that the "Federal Government ought to be paying a greater share" of the burden.

Someone who needs very little convincing is Los Angeles County's chief administrative officer, Richard B. Dixon. On April 22, Dixon's office released a study that enumerated the staggering costs of illegal immigration being borne at all levels of government. Dixon estimates that in the last fiscal

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year, the net costs to Los Angeles County alone for providing public health, education and welfare benefits to illegal aliens and their children was $276 million—$70 million more than just two years ago.

Dixon asserts that one-half of the $249.1 million Federal contribution to Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) in Los Angeles now goes to children of illegal aliens. Moreover, he warns that the cost of just that single program in Los Angeles County could reach $1 billion annually in this decade. [The week of May 18, the Florida Supreme Court ruled that applicants for political asylum are also eligible for AFDC benefits.]

Future costs promise to be even greater. According to Dixon, an astounding 65.5 percent of all births in Los Angeles public hospitals are children of illegal immigrants. These babies, who are US citizens, are immediately entitled to the full array of social benefits. Moreover, by 1993, most of the 3.1 million illegal immigrants nationwide who received amnesty under the immigration-reform act will be eligible for public assistance as well. Much of this population lives in Los Angeles and South Florida.

So long as the 1980s economic boom was filling state and county coffers in Florida and California, the politicians were happy to appease the array of special interests that benefitted from the expanding pool of cheap labor. In the harder economic times of the 1990s, state and local governments, which do not have the Federal Government's luxury of amassing debt, can no longer afford the growing costs. Their only alternatives are reducing services to everyone, or raising taxes.

Immigration, particularly illegal immigration, is a costly proposition. The buck has finally stopped where it usually does—in the laps of taxpayers. As the economy in 'recession-proof' places such as Florida and California (not to mention the rest of the country) drags through the current recession, the politicians may finally come to see what the local officials in the heavily-affected areas realized long ago—that the Federal Government's inability to control our nation's borders comes with a large price tag.

* * * *

A Question of Food

If present population trends continue beyond the year 2000, the world's farmers will have to grow as much food in the first two decades of the next century as was produced over the past 10,000 years.

—The News Service of the National Geographic Society

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For our "What's past is prologue" department we remind readers that the Immigration Act of 1965 was the first revision of US immigration policy since 1924, and that the impetus for it came mostly from a policy statement found in a little-remembered book by John F. Kennedy, A Nation of Immigrants *(New York: Anti-Defamation League, 1958). Ira Mehlman, a freelance writer in Washington DC, explores the connections between the book and the subsequent legislation.*

JOHN F. KENNEDY AND IMMIGRATION REFORM

By Ira Mehlman

In the history of publishing it would be hard to find a book, published by a relatively small press and with almost no public notice, containing ideas that have had a greater and more long-lasting impact on public policy than John F. Kennedy's 1958 treatise, *A Nation of Immigrants*. The ideas expressed in *A Nation of Immigrants* (though Kennedy was certainly not the only one expressing them) ultimately became the basis for the immigration reforms of 1965 which, to this day, stand as the foundation of US immigration policy.

As has become the custom of aspiring presidential candidates, Senator Kennedy in 1958 was seeking to get his public policy ideas and visions in print and in the public record. In the Anti-Defamation League, Kennedy found a willing and powerful outlet for his views on immigration policy; in the issue of immigration reform, Kennedy and the ADL—a division of B'nai Brith, the most prominent Jewish organization in the United States—found a commonality of interests.

Kennedy, a scion of Irish Catholic immigrants, was seeking the Democratic presidential nomination not only against a field of other candidates, but also against conventional wisdom and long-standing prejudices. It is not hard to detect a degree of bitterness in the writings of a man whose ethnic origins and religion were seen as obstacles to his reaching the White House. Kennedy caustically suggests a few additions to Emma Lazarus' poem *A New Colossus* which welcomes the world's tired and poor to America's shores: "As long as they come from Northern Europe, are not too tired or too poor or slightly ill, never stole a loaf of bread, never joined a questionable organization, and can document their activities for the past two years." Later, after his assassination, *Newsweek* magazine observed that "Mr. Kennedy felt the issue with a special depth of immediacy—and rage."[1]

In the American Jewish community, Kennedy found a natural ally on the issue of immigration reform. The shame and guilt of American Jews about their failure to do more to save European Jewry from the Holocaust still lingers today, and was all the more palpable so soon after the event. To this day, there is a strong feeling that, had it not been for the highly restrictive immigration policies of the US (and other countries), many of Europe's Jews could have been saved. Thus, it is not surprising that in 1958 the ADL not only endorsed, but published Kennedy's calls for a more liberal US immigration policy.

"...the immigration reforms Kennedy called for went well beyond their original intent and produced many unforeseen consequences."

Like so many of Kennedy's ideas, his views on immigration were not fulfilled in his lifetime, but rather became part of Lyndon Johnson's "Great Society." And, like so many of the well-intended programs of the Great Society, the immigration reforms Kennedy called for went well beyond their original intent and produced many unforeseen consequences.

Looking back from our current vantage point in 1991, few would argue against the basic premises of Kennedy's ideas for reforming America's immigration policies. First and foremost, he argued passionately for an end to the national origin immigration quotas that had been part of our laws since 1924. These quotas, which were intended to perpetuate immigrant flows from Northern and

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Western Europe and exclude most other immigrants, were an anathema to Kennedy and many others. Few people today could find fault with Kennedy's advocacy of a US immigration policy that is color- and ethnicity-blind.

In place of the national origin quota system Kennedy, first in his book, and later as President,[2] called for the institution of an immigration policy that judges all applicants on an equal footing. He suggested three basic criteria for admission of immigrants to the United States: 1) the skill of the individual immigrant, 2) the reunification of families, and 3) priority of registration: first come, first served.

What Kennedy clearly did not call for was a massive increase in the *number* of immigrants being admitted to the United States. He suggested a modest increase in the annual immigration quota that then stood at 156,700.[3] "There is, of course, a legitimate argument for some limitation upon immigration," wrote Kennedy. "We no longer need settlers for virgin lands, and our economy is expanding more slowly than in the 19th and early 20th centuries."

"Historical context is important as to how the ideas in* A Nation of Immigrants *were received."

Because *A Nation of Immigrants* was not published by a major publishing company when it was first issued in 1958, it was not reviewed in the press. Even when it was reissued posthumously, this time by Harper & Row in 1964, it received only a moderate amount of attention. The few reviews that were written were more tributes to a slain president than deep analyses of his ideas about immigration policy and the consequences of implementing these ideas. Typical of the reviews in 1964 is one which appeared in *Newsweek:*

> *Oceans of empty rhetoric have been spilled in ineffectual tribute since November 22. But such monuments as President Kennedy would have wished remain for the most part to be created—as, for example, the enactment of the kind of immigration policy he fought for, and here pleads for. Like marble, laws make lasting memorials.*[4]

Thus, the only way to really gauge critical reaction to *A Nation of Immigrants*, either in 1958 or 1964, is to look at what was being said about the issues raised in Kennedy's book, rather than by reaction to the book itself. The 1958 edition was largely ignored, and the 1964 edition could not be assessed dispassionately.

Historical context is important as to how the ideas in *A Nation of Immigrants* were received. The late-1950s and early-1960s was the period in which the United States (with the exception of the Deep South) could no longer rationalize the incongruities between our professed commitment to the principle that "all men are created equal," and our failure to apply that principle to significant portions of our population. Likewise, during this period of national soul-searching, we began to examine the underpinnings of our immigration laws which were implicitly and explicitly discriminatory. Just as by 1958 (and certainly 1964) the days of Jim Crow were clearly numbered, so too was an immigration policy that was based on a national origins quota system that limited immigration to a few countries in Northern and Western Europe and explicitly excluded others. The question was not whether these policies would change, but rather when and how much.

Support for scrapping the national origins quota system was already being voiced without reservation by the political left around the time of the book's first publication, and with some caution by the political mainstream. By far, the most forceful advocates of dropping racial and national origins bars and expanding quotas were, for lack of a better description, the religious left wing.

The Christian Century, self-described as "an undenominational journal of religion," argued often and vehemently for such changes in our immigration laws. With an all-star line-up of regular contributors that included the likes of Reinhold Niebuhr, Seymour Martin Lipset, Martin E. Marty and Martin Luther King, Jr., *The Christian Century* saw immigration reform as an essential component of the fledgling civil rights movement. A 1957 editorial opined that, "We are in danger of preaching freedom and reveling in it ourselves but denying it to those who knock on our doors....The denial borders on blasphemy at Bethlehem. Fling wide the gates and let some glory in."[5]

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Judgments about ideas are often influenced as much by those who oppose them as by those who advocate them. One cannot help but note that some of the most disreputable folks in America were taking the opposite view. For example, the *American Mercury* (where one would turn if one cared to read the views of someone like Lincoln Rockwell) argued just as often and vehemently against proposed changes in immigration policy. In assessing the suggestions from Kennedy and others that immigration opportunities be made available to nontraditional sources, the *American Mercury* immediately detected a communist plot. "There is no subject to which more thought is given by international communism, under orders from Moscow, *than immigration.* For the greatest force of communism...*is in infiltration.*"[6]

Around the time of the first publication of *A Nation of Immigrants*, there was very little discussion in the mainstream press of the issue of the national origins quota system. In the late 1950s the popular media reported immigration news, but largely refrained from analysis of the social and intellectual underpinnings of extant immigration policies. One of the few exceptions was the *Saturday Evening Post*, which periodically ran editorials about the issues.

"We should open our door for as many worthy aliens as we can. But we must hold fast to our policy so that the cultural characteristics of our population will not be materially altered."

While urging some moderation in the rigid immigration laws of the time, the *Saturday Evening Post* also perceived the risks inherent in tinkering with those policies. "Those who oppose immigration laws based upon the national origins system would burn the barn to roast the pig," said a *Post* editorial. "We should open the door for as many worthy aliens as we can. But we must hold fast to our policy so that the cultural characteristics of our population will not be materially altered."[7] As the country now wrestles with itself over multi- culturalism, there may be a few people out there who are "politically incorrect" enough to admire the perceptiveness of the person who wrote that editorial 33 years ago.

When it came to immigration, the *Saturday Evening Post* saw many of the issues and hazards long before most. While others were debating the pros and cons of the immigration issue out of emotion or paranoia, the *Post* was well ahead of its time in its hard-headed assessment of not only the proposed reforms, but also of the reformers.

Shortly after President Eisenhower signed an amendment to the Immigration and Nationality Act authorizing an annual increase of 30,000 immigration visas (a step to which the magazine did not object), the *Post* observed a hidden agenda among many who were pushing most adamantly for increasing the quotas. "Despite this liberalization, the immigration law continues to be heartily denounced and vilified. Violent as this criticism is, it all boils down to one simple plea, namely, that more immigrants should be admitted."[8]

It is also worth noting that the original release of *A Nation of Immigrants* coincided with the peak of the post-World War II baby boom in the United States. In 1958 the *Saturday Evening Post* was again the first to recognize the dangers of runaway population growth and its connection with immigration. Long before it was the vogue the *Post* was writing about the need to limit population growth:

> *It is true we had no quantitative or quota restrictions on immigration for a long period in our history. But that was when we had vast, unoccupied areas of free, fertile land and a far smaller population than now. Today there are 70 million more people in the United States than when numerical quotas first went into effect.*
>
> *If present birth rates in this country and the present scale of immigration continue, we may have 40 million additional population in only 12 or 13 years from now. To provide housing, health, welfare, educational and employment facilities for our explosively expanding population is going to be a large enough task for even the richest of nations.*

Finally, the editorial, which was remarkable for its foresight in 1958, concluded: "To open wide the floodgates of immigration could well depress our

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standard of living to a dangerous level without making more than a dent on the world problem of overpopulation. Is it wrong for us to consider first the interest and welfare of the American people?"[9]

"Nothing in his book...suggests that Kennedy ever envisioned the endless chains of family migration that have resulted."

Opening wide the floodgate was not, of course, what Kennedy had in mind. What he advocated was greater fairness in the selection process and a modest increase in the overall quotas. Nothing in his book (which became the basis of an immigration proposal he sent to Congress on July 23, 1963) suggests that Kennedy ever envisioned the endless chains of family migration that have resulted. Nor does it appear that he recognized the explosive combination of "push" factors that would drive unprecedented numbers of people in the underdeveloped world to take advantage of what seemed, at the time, like modest modifications in the immigration law.

Few did foresee such developments. In the analyses that appeared of the President's proposal to Congress, only *U.S. News and World Report* recognized the connection between growing global population pressures and US immigration policy.[10] "Rising population pressures abroad are a factor in the drive to lower U.S. immigration bars a little.... Basically, the U.S. is asked to help ease population pressures in the Caribbean and elsewhere,"[11] wrote the magazine.

At the time of his assassination, President Kennedy was working on a revision of *A Nation of Immigrants*. Under the supervision of his brother Robert Kennedy, the revisions were completed and published in 1964. As noted by every reviewer of the Harper & Row edition, this was to be John F. Kennedy's last published work. As such, it was treated with the kind of deference one would expect of a martyred man's last request.

In his foreword to the revised edition, Robert Kennedy noted: "I know of no cause which President Kennedy championed more warmly than the improvement of our immigration policies....When President Kennedy sent his historic message to Congress in 1963 calling for a complete revision of the immigration law, he decided it was also time to revise the book for use as a weapon of enlightenment in the coming legislative battle."

By this time the issues raised in *A Nation of Immigrants* were no longer merely ideas—they had already taken the form of legislation that, within a year's time, was destined to become the cornerstone of US immigration law. Again, the religious left wing was at the vanguard of the effort not only to push through the Kennedy program, but to sow the seed for its future expansion. Joining with the *Christian Century*, which was still active editorially on this matter, was *America*, a weekly journal published by the Jesuits of the United States and Canada. While echoing the growing chorus of those who believed that the existing immigration law was "incompatible with our basic American traditions,"[12] they were already, at that time, raising the question of whether any law was just that restricted the movement of people. "...[T]he revolution of rising expectations in overcrowded lands have made immigration policy an international issue," said a 1963 editorial. "In *Pacem in Terris*, John XXIII taught that the State has a grave and moral obligation to accept immigrants who have a reasonable hope of providing a better future for themselves and their families."[13]

By 1964, when the book was reissued, there were few people prepared to argue that the national origins quota system was compatible with our American traditions. Even the *Saturday Evening Post*, which had earlier defended national origins quotas, now condemned them.[14] *Newsweek* saw the abolition of national origins quotas as a litmus test of America's determination to rectify centuries of racial and social injustice. "Some of [President Kennedy's] finest qualities are manifested in this book; one of his fondest hopes was that our immigration laws embody our most decent and humane impulses."[15]

The movement to do away with national origins quotas was also picking up important allies within the Johnson Administration. Perhaps chief among them was the State Department's head of Security and Consular Affairs, Abba P. Schwartz. In a speech at St. Olaf's College in Minnesota on April 3, 1964, Schwartz asserted that "Our discriminatory immigration policies send the wrong message around the world."[16] Schwartz also hinted that the reservations

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being expressed by organized labor and others were based on xenophobia and that the changes being proposed would have little practical effect.

In case there were any doubts about whether Schwartz spoke for the administration, they were laid to rest several months later when his St. Olaf's speech was incorporated, almost verbatim, into the testimony of his boss, Secretary of State Dean Rusk, before the Senate Immigration Subcommittee on July 31, 1964.

Rusk's testimony revealed how little the State Department understood the implications of the changes they were about to make. Rusk seemed confident that abolishing national origin quotas would have little practical effect on immigration to the United States and would merely be a cosmetic change to make us feel better about ourselves. "The action we urge...is not to make a drastic departure from a long-established immigration policy, but rather to reconcile our immigration policy as it has developed in recent years with the letter of the general law."[17]

As if to underscore his (and presumably President Johnson's) misunderstanding of these policy decisions, Rusk offered an explanation of why the proposed changes to the immigration law would not substantially alter immigration patterns or the number of immigrants to the United States. It also reveals a degree of cynicism, in that the administration believed it was making an empty gesture.

> *When Congress developed the national origins system in 1924, it appeared that it may have been fearful that our country would be swamped by vast numbers of untrained and impoverished people. Present day immigration is much different in volume and makeup... Immigration now comes in limited volume and includes a relatively high proportion of older people, females and persons of high skill and training. The significance of immigration for the United States now depends less on numbers than on the quality of the immigrants.*[18]

The State Department's lack of acuity was shared by its colleagues at the Department of Labor who confidently predicted that the proposed changes would add a mere 23,000 workers to the labor force each year.[19]

The business press, which had not seemed interested in the immigration issue when *A Nation of Immigrants* was first published, was very concerned by the time of its second publication. Anyone who followed the debate over the Immigration Act of 1990, would have to wonder whether the business press was simply recycling its old articles and columns. The same interests that feared an impending labor shortage in 1990, were expressing those same fears just as the front end of the great baby boom generation was entering the labor force. (In 1990 they worried about not having enough young workers; in 1964, the fear was a scarcity of mature workers.) "Immigrants are also expected to help fill the dwindling ranks of native workers in the prime age groups—35 to 44 years old. Without immigrants...this key group would decline in the 1960s by about 70,000, reflecting the slowdown in births during the 1930s."[20] [Editor's note: See the article by Elizabeth Koed in the Spring 1991 issue of *The Social Contract* in which the same arguments were used by the business community regarding the abolition of slavery and the restrictions on child labor.]

"Anyone who followed the debate over the Immigration Act of 1990 would have to wonder whether the business press was simply recycling its old articles and columns."

Though American business may have been clamoring for an infusion of foreign workers, there was a healthy degree of skepticism from the general press and members of Congress about an impending labor shortage in the United States. "I don't think we ought to let this country get flooded with immigrants," said Senator John L. McClellan (D-Ark.). "We've got enough of an unemployment problem as it is."[21] Congressman William E. Miller (R-N.Y.), who was the Republican Vice Presidential nominee in 1964, also tried to use the issue of job displacement in his doomed campaign. He accused the Johnson Administration of wanting to "open the

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floodgates for virtually all who wished to come and find work in this country."[22]

In the year following the second publication of *A Nation of Immigrants*, Congress incorporated many of the ideas in the book (along with many that were not) into the sweeping 1965 revisions of the Immigration and Nationality Act. In retrospect, a quarter of a century later, it is now evident that these reforms were, in every respect, a component of what became known as the Great Society. Proposed and enacted with the very best of intentions, these changes set off a chain of events that few anticipated. They established new expectations and patterns of behavior that may be impossible to break, and created problems that, many would contend, are worse than the ones they were intended to solve.

"The proponents of the 1965 reforms naively believed that they could open up immigration opportunities for the teeming masses of the underdeveloped countries, raise their hopes and expectations, and still maintain control of the numbers."

When one goes back and reviews the debates leading up to passage of the 1965 immigration law, it becomes readily apparent that neither the proponents nor the opponents of the reforms had a realistic understanding of the social, political and demographic situation. The opponents—many of them the same people who steadfastly opposed the civil rights reforms of the same era—clung to the antiquated (and, in some cases, overtly racist) beliefs that certain classes of people, because of their race, ethnicity or religions, were inassimilable. The proponents of the 1965 reforms naively believed that they could open up immigration opportunities for the teeming masses of the underdeveloped countries, raise their hopes and expectations, and still remain in control of the numbers.

It is not necessary (in fact it would be wrong) to defend the 'national origins' quota system when pointing to the flaws in the system that replaced it. The national origins quotas, as Kennedy and many others asserted, were antithetical to basic American values. However, if the volume of immigration continues to explode, and we maintain domestic policies that continue to balkanize our increasingly diverse population, the immigration reforms of 1965 may eventually prove to be antithetical to basic American unity. ■

NOTES

[1]*Newsweek.* "By JFK," October 12, 1964, p. 124.
[2]President's message to Congress, July 23, 1963.
[3]The actual figure was closer to 300,000 owing to non-quota admissions and "special immigration bills" introduced by individual members of Congress.
[4]*Newsweek.* Op. cit.
[5]*The Christian Century.* "Fling Wide the Gates," September 4, 1957, p. 1028.
[6]Lines, John. "Immigration—The Trojan Horse," *American Mercury*, September 1957, p. 144.
[7]*Saturday Evening Post.* "'National Origins' Should Be Kept in the Immigration Law," April 20, 1957, p. 10.
[8]*Saturday Evening Post.* "What's So 'Illiberal' and 'Inhuman' About Our Immigration Requirements?" January 24, 1958, p. 10.
[9]Ibid.
[10]*U.S. News and World Report* noted that the timing of President Kennedy's message to Congress was influenced by the decision of Great Britain to curtail immigration from its former Caribbean colonies, and the pressure being exerted on Washington to open up a safety valve for Caribbean immigrants.
[11]*U.S. News and World Report.* "If Bars on Immigration Were Lowered," August 5, 1963, p. 58.
[12]*America.* "Racism in Immigration," January 30, 1965, p. 158.
[13]*America.* "The Open Golden Door," August 24, 1963, p. 188.
[14]*Saturday Evening Post.* "The Hypocrisy of Our Immigration Laws," February 15, 1964, p. 78.
[15]*Newsweek.* October 12, 1964, op. cit.
[16]*Department of State Bulletin.* "Foreign and Domestic Implications of U.S. Immigration Laws," April 27, 1964, p. 675.
[17]*Department of State Bulletin.* "Department Urges Congress to Revise Immigration Laws," August 24, 1964, p. 276. (Statement by Dean Rusk before the Senate Immigration Sub-committee, July 31, 1964.)
[18]Ibid.
[19]*Business Week.* "Should the Gates Be Opened Wider?" October 17, 1964, p. 114.
[20]Ibid.
[21]*U.S. News and World Report.* "An 'Open Door' Policy in Immigration?" January 25, 1965, p. 8.
[22]*Business Week.* Op. cit.

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Arthur Mr. Schlesinger, Jr., Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, has expanded on the position of Scholars in Defense of History with his latest book, The Disuniting of America: Reflections on a Multicultural Society *(Knoxville, Tenn.: Whittle Direct Books, 1991). The book is reviewed by Otis L. Graham, Jr., Professor of History at the University of California, Santa Barbara.*

HOW AMERICA HAS HELD TOGETHER

A Book Review

THE DISUNITING OF AMERICA:
REFLECTIONS ON A MULTICULTURAL SOCIETY By Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.

It is a matter of the greatest significance that Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., at age 73 the distinguished author of thirteen books on American history, chose to write a book on contemporary threats to our national identity and cohesion. *The Disuniting of America* is a condensed, readable and arresting tour of the historical formation of the American national identity and its remarkable persistence in the face of divisive forces of regionalism, ideology, and the endless arrival of immigrants. But the point of the history is to sharpen the contrast with the present, where Schlesinger finds "a new conception" of America arising. In place of the historic conception and reality of America as a transformative society banishing old loyalties so as to forge a new commonality, "the contemporary ideal is shifting from assimilation to ethnicity, from integration to separatism." (p. 2)

Most of the book is an account of the zone of combat Schlesinger knows best: contemporary efforts to revise the teaching and writing of our national history. Both needed much revision a generation ago, he concedes. But praiseworthy efforts to open up the "dead white male" world of traditional historiography to a more pluralistic story have evolved into angry denunciations of the former core history as Eurocentric and patriarchal cultural imperialism, an illegitimate subject unless one intends to flog it. Further, the very idea of a national history is now said to be a coercive fraud, damaging the psyches of America's many non-white non-male citizens. "Multiculturalism" is the bonfire now melting school and college curricula into new forms, and Schlesinger writes of the high costs of the widespread efforts to use history to enhance the 'self-esteem' of various groups and encourage their cultural separatism. He recounts the emergence of a "peculiarly ugly mood" in the nation's academic institutions and culture, brought on by the demand for Political Correctness (PC). PC is shorthand for a form of liberal-left McCarthyism intended to intimidate those who would defend the Western tradition or question the logic or goals of those who carry "the cult of ethnicity" and/or gender resentments toward a dismantling of the very core of nationality. Schlesinger's compact book may console Soviets, Yugoslavs and Canadians with the news that their own agony of national disintegration may also now be repeated within the nation so proud of its recent Cold and Gulf War victories.

In the end, Schlesinger is, as usual, optimistic. The balance between *unum* and *pluribus* will be restored, and around the traditional Anglo-Saxon base. The "American Creed" will prove strong enough to bind Americans together. The author, brilliant at looking back, is less-convincing when looking ahead. Consider the sources of the disuniting. Schlesinger sees them as ideas, "conceptions," and (he is less sure-footed here) social values. No doubt. The centrifugal forces now at work within the US are, in an important sense, cultural and ideological; they are ideas and values — terrain where Schlesinger is a resourceful guide with a matchless historical vision. But important sources of the disuniting are beyond his horizon, most especially immigration at indigestible rates, a problem he mentions briefly and with disrelish. To meet the new separatist impulses with only "the American Creed" is to match our nation's waning assimilationist mechanisms against growing centrifugal pressures.

The Disuniting of America may not fully diagnose the problem, but it is an invaluable essay on how America has held together, and how it seems now to be coming apart. If you think that an important and neglected subject, read this book.

—Otis L. Graham, Jr.

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Dinesh D'Souza's examination of the phenomenon of 'political correctness' on college campuses and its detrimental results is reviewed by Eugene D. Genovese, Distinguished Scholar-in-Residence at the University Center in Georgia. Reprinted by permission of The New Republic, *© 1991, The New Republic, Inc.*

COUNTERTERRORISM IN THE ACADEMY

A Book Review

ILLIBERAL EDUCATION:
THE POLITICS OF RACE AND SEX ON CAMPUS By Dinesh D'Souza

Were today's universities the places of higher education that they jocularly pretend to be, we would have had a vigorous debate on the issues raised by Allan Bloom's *Closing of the American Mind.* Instead, with some notable exceptions, the left settled for denunciations and the right for hosannas. Now we have another chance. Dinesh D'Souza's *Illiberal Education* recounts, in a manner both responsible and chilling, the atrocities that ravage our campuses. Whatever your politics, read it.

"The atrocities documented here include the silencing of professors accused of 'insensitivity' because they dare to ask students to read racist material in appropriate courses."

A domestic policy adviser in the Reagan White House and a frequent contributor to *National Review* and other satanic organs, D'Souza speaks from the right. He also speaks for sanity, and, rare among right-wingers, he displays a deep appreciation of the travails of black students. Nothing comes through this powerful yet restrained book more clearly than its protest against the betrayal of black youth by the demagogues who claim to support them. D'Souza shows that blacks are paying the highest price for the degradation of our campuses and the prostitution of higher education. Thus he pointedly exposes what few right-wingers wish to notice: the increase in flagrantly racist assaults, physical and other, on black students.

The atrocities documented here include the silencing of professors accused of "insensitivity" because they dare to ask students to read racist material in appropriate courses. (By extension, a professor ought not to assign *Mein Kampf* in a course on Nazi Germany since it might offend the sensibilities of Jewish students.) And they include the repression of professors and students who take unpopular stands against quotas, affirmative action, busing, abortion, homosexuality, and much else. Clearly, they have no right to present views offensive to those who accept the reigning pieties in universities committed to "diversity." D'Souza's account makes stomach-turning reading. And I have a suspicion that he is pulling his punches, lest he be accused of exaggeration.

As one who saw his professors fired during the McCarthy era, and who had to fight, as a pro-Communist Marxist, for his own right to teach, I fear that our conservative colleagues are today facing a new McCarthyism, in some ways more effective and vicious than the old. Are conservatives only getting, then, a dose of their own medicine? In fact, they are not. The right did not rule our campuses during the McCarthy era. Most of the purges of those years were conducted by administrators and faculties who loudly proclaimed their own liberalism—by the same kind of people, that is, who are enforcing "political correctness" today. Yet few of the culprits were then, or are now, "liberals."

The principled liberals on our campuses constitute about the same proportion of the center as principled people do of the left and the right. All political camps have principled people, careerists, and thugs. D'Souza seems to appreciate this distinction. He largely avoids liberal-bashing and appeals instead to honest people across the spectrum to stand up for the principles that they profess in common. He warns of the few who have a totalitarian agenda, but wisely he concentrates his

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fire on those who appease them.

In these matters, as in others, Harvard, led by Derek Bok, strives mightily to be No.1. Harvard seems determined to lead in high comedy, too, though Stephan Thernstrom and other members of its faculty who have been savaged for political incorrectness in the classroom may be forgiven if they do not appreciate the humor. To wit: dining hall workers held a "Back to the Fifties Party," and a dean denounced them for being nostalgic about a decade in which segregation still prevailed. A professor assigned a film in which a black maid appeared, and he was forced to cancel its screening, since blacks should not be shown in such jobs. A new president at Radcliffe declined to identify herself as a feminist, and local feminists, disgracing an admirable cause, denounced her for "doing violence to herself."

"The manner in which some of the administrators of our universities choose to fight racial discrimination is marvelous to behold."

The Harvard administration more or less upheld Thernstrom's academic freedom; it did not fire him for having introduced pro-slavery and racist documents in his course on "The Peopling of America," which he co-taught with the distinguished historian, Bernard Bailyn. Significantly, the students who complained about Thernstrom's "racial insensitivity" did not bother to confront him, as academic protocol, not to mention common courtesy, would require. Instead, they took their complaint to the administration and the press. In the event, the dean of the college, without mentioning Thernstrom by name, gravely announced his stern disapproval of "prejudice, harassment, and discrimination," and warned professors to watch their mouths lest they offend the sensibilities of their students. In effect, the Harvard administration acknowledged Thernstrom's right to behave in a manner that embarrassed the university and ought to make him ashamed of himself. No doubt Bok and most of his deans disapprove of the excesses that accompany the struggle for diversity, sensitivity, and a radiant future for the peoples. They are merely doing their best to create an atmosphere in which professors who value their reputations and their perquisites learn to censor themselves.

The manner in which some of the administrators of our universities choose to fight racial discrimination is marvelous to behold. Having decided that a democratic admissions policy required roughly proportionate representation of blacks, Hispanics, and whites, the University of California, Berkeley, coolly discriminated against Asians. Nearly 30 percent of the Asian high school graduates from California qualified for admission to Berkeley, compared with about 15 percent of the whites, 6 percent of the Hispanics, and 4 percent of the blacks. Yet according to Berkeley's own weighted index, blacks were admitted with scores of 4800 out of 8000, whereas whites needed at least 7000. Asians needed 7000 just to have a 50 percent chance of admission.

But Asian students, as is well known, offend the sensibilities of true egalitarians and democrats by displaying a passion for hard work, and by having strong and supportive families. Could America have been built if it had relied on such perverse people? Or, more precisely, it must have relied on such people, which would explain its emergence as a racist, sexist, homophobic, imperialist country. Either way, a sensitive person must see that the fight against racism demands the exclusion of Asians in favor of people with safer credentials. How could we demonstrate that Asians are no better motivated or self-disciplined than the rest of us if we let them demonstrate that they are? And if we let them demonstrate that they are better motivated, how could we ever be sure that they are not also smarter?

The Asian community counter-attacked and forced Berkeley to modify its policies. Still, three trifles must be noted. First, the administrators, with little or no protest from the faculty, repeatedly lied about their discriminatory policy until they were caught red-handed, and then they solemnly announced that they were shocked to learn of their own "insensitivity" to Asians. Second, nobody has yet explained how, if discrimination against Asians were necessary to fight white racism (never mind the blatant imbecility of the proposition), the university could eliminate such discrimination without succumbing to precisely that white racism. Third, how could the university now admit more Asians

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without further reducing the quota for white students, including deserving poor and working-class white students.

To right old wrongs, our leading universities are now trying to buy black students and professors, of whom there are demonstrably not enough qualified ones to go around, even in Afro-American history. In consequence, they accept some who could not compete on merit, but who might do well at a university of second rank; and the universities of the second rank accept those who belong in universities of the third rank; and the universities of the third rank accept available warm bodies. At all levels, many black students who cannot compete receive passing grades while being treated with contempt. And so frustration, resentment, and anger build among them, and among the white students, too, who have been shunted aside to facilitate this charade. The dropout rate for black students would rank as a scandal, if anything any longer ranked as a scandal.

"...the alarming assault on Western civilization — on the civilization, not just the courses on civilization."

At all levels, moreover, qualified black students and professors are made to look like charity cases. A number of blacks today rank among the finest American historians in the country, and many are honored for their achievements. But those well-deserved honors often stick in the craw of their recipients, who can never be sure that the honors are not merely awarded to fill quotas. And if mature and accomplished professors suffer from this outrage, how must gifted black students feel about their situation?

Does affirmative action, then, undermine academic standards? Not necessarily, according to D'Souza, who sharply attacks its present form, and offers an alternative to which we shall return. Affirmative action cannot explain the decline in academic standards, which began well before it. The damning indictment of the long-practiced discrimination against women and blacks, moreover, properly focused on the lowering of academic standards made inevitable by a talent pool restricted to white males. By insisting that qualified women and blacks be given due consideration, affirmative action properly implemented ought to replace mediocre professors with superior ones.

Unfortunately, D'Souza sidesteps this larger issue. Still, it will emerge quickly if his book receives the attention it deserves. The decline in academic standards has proceeded in tandem with the radical egalitarian conviction that everyone is fit for, and has a right to, a college education. As a consequence of this conviction, even our finest colleges have had to struggle constantly to do more than teach at the high school level, since most of their students are certainly unprepared and probably unqualified. We have transformed our colleges from places of higher learning into places for the technical training of poorly prepared young men and women who need a degree to get a job in a college-crazed society. An example: the "democratization" of the history curriculum has led to the abolition of required courses in Western Civilization and in American history, of the introductory courses that serve as prerequisites for ostensibly advanced courses later on, say, the Civil War. Which means that every course must be reduced to an introductory course, since the professor cannot assume that his students know the difference between John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay, or know about Nullification and the Wilmot Proviso, or about anything else for that matter.

D'Souza recognizes as ghastly the conditions that are keeping blacks off the fabled "level playing field," but he sensibly insists that universities cannot do much to correct those conditions without pointlessly ruining themselves. Still, D'Souza himself continues to preach "equality of opportunity," even though conservatives like Richard Weaver and M.E. Bradford, not to mention a few liberals, have exploded it as a cruel hoax. If, as should be obvious, some people, black or white, begin with less cultural advantage, less preparation, and less talent than others, "equality of opportunity" can only result in the perpetuation of the initial levels of inequality.

The problems posed by D'Souza range well beyond the horror stories and lead directly to the essential purposes of liberal education, and to the alarming assault on Western civilization—on the civilization, not just on the courses on civilization. D'Souza, a man of color born in India, is no

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mindless celebrant of Western virtues and values. He advocates a curriculum that includes attention to the rest of the world. And he argues well that those who denigrate the Western also denigrate the non-Western: they have no interest in teaching the *Analects*, the Ramayana, or the Koran, but prefer instead to peddle what usually turns out to be little more than recent non-Western versions of their favorite radical Western ideologies.

"The campaign for 'political correctness' invites ugly tactics that could never be sustained...without the complicity of the very administrators and the very faculty members at whom they are directed."

The point deserves passing over. It is almost always the case that those who denigrate Western civilization do not tolerate those who teach the entire truth about Asia and Africa, about Hinduism and Islam, which have also had a history of racism, sexism, class exploitation, imperialism, and murderous violence. It does not occur to them (or does it?) that they thereby rob their Asian and African American students of a chance to learn the specifics and complexities, of the history of their own forebears. They leave their Asian and African American students bereft of a full appreciation of the glory and the shame, the virtue and the vice, that go into the making of everything human.

The campaign for "political correctness" invites ugly tactics that could never be sustained, however, without the complicity of the very administrators and the very faculty members at whom they are directed. At Stanford, students seized the office of President Donald Kennedy, making demands, some constructive and some preposterous. Kennedy bravely announced: "The university will not negotiate on issues of substance in response to unlawful coercion." The next day, under unlawful coercion, he entered into negotiations, and he caved in to the demands. (Come to think of it, did he mean that he might negotiate on issues of procedure under unlawful coercion? Did he mean to endorse lawful coercion? Never mind: we don't expect university presidents to speak English these days.)

Administrators capitulate to terrorists primarily because they are damage control experts obsessed with the smart move. When terrorists threaten to trash them as racists, sexists, homophobes, and enemies of the people, the smart move is to capitulate, for the administrators have nothing to lose save honor; and since the postculturalists on their faculties have nicely deconstructed honor, they need pay it no mind. Who could blame administrators for not wanting to face demonstrators who denounce them as criminals? Besides, the national academic establishments and most of the media will commend them for their statesmanship in defusing confrontation, for opening new lines of communication, for showing compassion and sensitivity.

A university president who negotiates with storm troopers who have occupied any part of his campus, much less his own office, should be fired. But first we must do our best to save all such quivering-time-servers from themselves. To that end I offer the Law of Liberation through Counterterror: *In every such political struggle, honorable men and women can defeat terrorism only by unleashing counterterrorism against cowardly administrators and their complicit faculty*. Of course, we must obey this law in a humane spirit, for the purpose of liberating these benighted souls is to realize their own inner wills. Like loving parents, we must accept the disagreeable duty to inflict excruciating pain on ourselves by whipping our errant children for their own good.

After all, our campus heroes do not wish to face demonstrators of another kind: those who, closer to the truth, trash them as front men for a new McCarthyism, as hypocrites who preach diversity and practice totalitarianism, as cowards, whores, and rogues. Let us, then, drive into their brains the terrifying recognition that counterterrorists will (figuratively) draw their blood for every concession made to terrorists; that administrators who deftly avoid calls for their ouster from the one side will face such calls from the other side; that, whatever they do, they will suffer hard blows; and that, despite every smart move known to God and man, they will find no place to hide from any war that the terrorists unleash. All, again, for their own good. By raising the price of sleaziness as high as the price of a staunch defense of their campuses, we shall liberate administrators to stand on their own professed

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principles, secure in the knowledge that they have nothing left to lose.

The surrender of the administrators is not hard to understand, at least in one respect. Who wants to be accused of insensitivity? The answer is, those who recognize "sensitivity" as a code word for the promulgation of a demagogic political program. At Brooklyn College, which I attended in the late 1940s, everyone took for granted that students ought to challenge their professors and each other. Professors acted as if they were paid to assault their students' sensibilities, to offend their most cherished values. The classroom was an ideological war zone. And self-respecting students returned the blows. In this way we had a chance to acquire a first-rate education, that is, to learn to sustain ourselves in combat against dedicated but overworked professors who lacked the time and the "tolerance" to worry about our "feelings."

"Any professor who...does not seize every opportunity to offend the sensibilities of his students is insulting and cheating them."

I learned my lessons well, and so I routinely assign books that contradict the point of view presented in my own classroom. I insist only that students challenge my point of view in accordance with the canons of (Southern) courtesy, and in obedience to a rule: lay down plausible premises, argue logically, appeal to evidence. If they say things that offend others, the offended ones are invited to reply, fiercely, but in accordance with the same courtesy and in obedience to the same rule. I know no other way to show students, white or black, male or female, the respect that ought to be shown in a place of intellectual and ideological contention. Thus I submit the First Law of College Teaching: *Any professor who, subject to the restraints of common sense and common decency, does not seize every opportunity to offend the sensibilities of his students is insulting and cheating them, and is no college professor at all.*

Illiberal Education pays much less attention to gender than to race, and displays less knowledge of the issues, the personalities, and the circumstances of women's studies in this country. Yet a larger problem affects D'Souza's treatment of both race and gender: he falls into the trap of condemning black studies and women's studies programs out of hand. D'Souza simply ignores the record of the best of those programs in enriching the college curriculum. He acknowledges excellent scholarship in black studies, but he wrongly asserts that it emanates from scholars in traditional departments. His assertion is anyway beside the point.

The demand for separate programs arose because the traditional departments were ignoring, and even condemning, significant subject matter. In this respect, the history of these programs does not differ markedly from the history of area studies, religious studies, Jewish studies, or film studies, some of which also arose in response to political pressures. In principle, we should emphatically welcome black studies and women's studies programs or departments as a legitimate means of promoting scholarship about valuable subjects long and stupidly ignored. In practice, moreover, some of these programs have functioned admirably, as have such centers for the promotion of scholarship as the Carter Woodson Center at the University of Virginia, which offers scholars in black studies an opportunity to pursue their research in an institution that upholds high standards and is open to diverse viewpoints. I very much doubt that D'Souza's blanket condemnation of these academic innovations would apply, after careful investigation, to the women's studies program at Emory University, say, or to a number of other black studies and women's studies programs.

If many such programs have little intellectual merit and are principally engaged in political indoctrination, there are exceptions, and they prove that the result is not fated. D'Souza is right to charge that the culpable programs arose from the cynicism (not to mention the racism and the sexism) of administrations and faculties that refused to hold them to the proper academic standards. As a result, large numbers of excellent professors in black studies programs and women's studies programs have been left to the mercies of campus politicians who are uninterested in academic standards and hostile to academic freedom.

I know of no women's studies program that has a conservative or anti-feminist faculty member,

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although I know of at least one such program that would like to. The problem is not only that many programs are run by professors who, supported by administrators, apply ideological standards in the recruitment of faculty. The problem is also that professors of a more conservative disposition whose work includes subject matter appropriate to women's studies normally want nothing to do with programs that they view as inescapably political. Accepting exclusion, they do not fight for their right to participate and to teach from their own point of view.

When has a conservative or an anti-feminist professor applied for a job in a women's studies program? Such an applicant would be rejected in most places. But if that is the case, then the issue of "discrimination" ought to be joined precisely on grounds of a commitment to "diversity." No university should tolerate a program or a department of any kind that applies political and ideological criteria in hiring and promotions (as many history departments now do). I do not underestimate the magnitude of the task that faces those who would fight this battle. Still, if principled liberals and leftists do inhabit our campuses, as we must hope that they do, then surely they can be rallied to the defense of the academic freedom of their conservative colleagues.

In discussing present trends, D'Souza presents two explanations that, while not mutually exclusive, coexist uneasily. He excoriates administrators for succumbing to pressure from those who have sectarian agendas, but he also argues that administrators are imposing their own ideological agendas. He shows that "a revolution from above" is occurring at such leading universities as Harvard, Berkeley, Stanford, and Wisconsin, and that it is spreading; but the burden of his evidence suggests that the greater problem remains the general capitulation to destructive political pressures.

The capitulation has some high-minded alibis. D'Souza mentions them, but he does not probe adequately. The principal alibi stresses the moral imperative of submission to the will of "the community" which is necessary, it is claimed, for the maintenance of a democratic society. The university, this song goes, has no right to exist as an ivory tower, oblivious to the needs and aspirations of a democratic people. None can object, of course, when the choice is posed so starkly, though it might be recalled that Southern universities long justified segregation as an accommodation to the prevailing sentiments of their communities. To pose it so starkly, however, is to talk nonsense.

"..the universities had been under pressure to serve the interests of communities... All that the New Left did was to redefine 'community' to suit its own needs and interests."

Intellectual work in general, and higher education in particular, depend upon academic freedom, which depends upon a wide swath of autonomy, of detachment, for the university. The university must be ready, therefore, to stand against the community, and to protect those who challenge the attitudes and sensibilities that prevail in the community. Neither academic freedom nor the autonomy of the university should be defended as absolutes. Some measure of accommodation to the larger society is always necessary and proper, and the gray area will always be a battleground. Still, a university worthy of the name must, so far as practicable, recognize its duty to protect those who defy the political consensus of the moment.

That is, it must recognize itself as an institution in constant and principled tension with the community in which it resides. When the New Left of the 1960s demanded that universities become responsive to the community, it ironically advanced the work begun by its Establishment enemies. Long before the hysterical response to Sputnik, the universities had been under pressure to serve the interests of communities attuned to the government and big business. All that the New Left did was to redefine "community" to suit its own ideas and interests. Like its enemies, it insisted on an engaged academy and poured contempt on the ideal of the university as an autonomous institution.

D'Souza's book contains telling quotations from campus zealots on the problem of "politicization." The universities have always been political, they argue. Indeed, everything has a political dimension—and so the only issue is what kind of politics are to be imposed. There is a grain of truth here, but

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carried to its logical conclusion it would transform every institution into an instrument of political correctness. And that, to speak precisely, is totalitarianism.

D'Souza makes too many concessions to democratic and egalitarian dogmas for my taste. He responds to these arguments weakly, by arguing that the politicization of the universities is leading to their domination by coalitions of ideological minorities. No doubt it is. But the danger would be even greater if the universities were to succumb to an ideological majority. The hard truth is that academic freedom—the real work of scholarship—requires a willingness to set limits to the claims of democracy. It requires a strong dose of hierarchical authority within institutions that must be able to defy a democratic consensus. Sooner or later we shall have to face this fact, or be defeated by those who seek the total politicization of our campuses.

D'Souza ends his book constructively, with three proposals to promote academic standards and academic freedom and simultaneously to do justice to genuinely disadvantaged youth. His first, and most significant, is his call for "non-racial affirmative action." With this idea, he risks the ire of many on the right. He notes that the rising tide of white racism among students is being fueled by discrimination against qualified white students in favor of less qualified black students who receive financial support despite coming from affluent families. Recognizing that most qualified black students, like many qualified white students, need financial support, he proposes to subsidize according to a combination of demonstrated merit and need. An advocate of "individualism," D'Souza insists that his program promotes "equality of opportunity" and rejects categorization by group. Surely he jests. For his program implies a collectivism that merely replaces "race" with "class." At least it promises to attack racial injustice, since the correlation of race and lower class among blacks is, as he takes pains to show, strikingly high.

His second proposal is for "choice without separation." It's not exactly clear what this slogan means. It originates in a critique of black separatism that I find sadly wrongheaded. D'Souza, fearful of ghettoization and the institutionalization of racial oppression in a new form, seems alarmed at the very idea of separate black professional and extra-curricular organizations. He lashes out, therefore, at everything that hints of black separatism, of any kind of separatism. But he is uncritically assimilating the black experience in America to the general "ethnic" experience, and he is thereby missing its uniqueness. Blacks did not bring a distinct culture from Africa as, say, Italian-Americans or Polish-Americans did from their homelands; they forged a new and powerful culture of their own. Afro-American culture has grown out of a forced emigration from Africa, out of resistance to slavery, and out of enforced segregation, and for those reasons it has imparted to many black people a sense of being "a nation within a nation," to invoke a term that dates from early colonial times and was popularized by W.E.B. DuBois. The attendant problems of analysis, not to mention politics, are extraordinarily complex. And for just that reason they ought long ago to have been made the center of discussion on our campuses, in and out of black studies programs.

"This book could open a salutary national debate. But the cause it champions will go down, unless it is supported by a substantial portion of the left and center."

D'Souza's third proposal offers an intriguing curriculum reform that would expose students "to the basic issues of equality and human difference, through a carefully chosen set of classic texts that deal powerfully with those issues." Briefly, he aims at grounding American students in the Western experience that has constituted the foundation of our society and culture, but in a way that promotes comparison and contrast with the civilizations of the rest of the world and appreciates their contribution to our own national development. This proposal is unobjectionable, but it is not very original. In fact, an increasing number of principled professors are promoting "World Civilization" in the manner D'Souza recommends—that is, by introducing African, Asian, and Latin American cultural studies without denigrating Western Civilization.

Illiberal Education invites cooperation in a common effort in defense of the campus. Occasionally D'Souza descends into biased and irritating

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attacks on the left and center, with sweeping and one-sided characterizations of Marxism and Marxists, liberalism and liberals. (He does not do justice to the literary critic Henry Louis Gates, Jr. or the historian Linda Kerber, among others.) Yet on the whole he makes a good effort to be fair, to focus on issues, to avoid *ad hominem* attacks, and to check his own political passions. He acknowledges, however grudgingly, the commitment of certain Marxists, feminists, proponents of black studies, and others to academic freedom and to scholarly integrity. This book could open a salutary national debate. But the cause it champions will go down, unless it is supported by a substantial portion of the left and center.

For this is not an issue only of the right, not least for a practical reason: there are not nearly enough conservatives on our campuses to do more than fight a rearguard action. Indeed, the predicament of the right should give many on the left a sense of déja vu, and a good laugh. Opposition to campus atrocities attracts two kinds of right-wingers: those who defend academic freedom and academic standards on principle, and those interested in using the issue as a "transmission belt" for recruitment into their "movement." The former, I mean the principled defenders of the academy, understand that they must cooperate with those whom they oppose on other issues. The latter, I mean the sectarians, do everything possible to identify the academic cause with their own partisan politics and slander all liberals and lefties as complicit in the new wave of campus barbarism. Looking beyond the immediate struggle, they fear nothing so much as the dissolution of the reigning isms, and the redrawing of political lines in a manner that brings together the healthiest elements of long-warring political camps.

The sectarians are correct to fear the consecration of the campuses to a vigorous political debate under conditions of real mutual respect and genuine academic freedom. Such a debate would undermine all the sectarianisms. It would encourage new political formations to meet the challenges of the new era. And so it should: the defense of academic freedom requires an all-out counterattack by a coalition that cuts across all the lines of politics, race and gender. It is time to close the ranks.

— Eugene D. Genovese

Copies Still Available

A Festschrift in honor of the 75th birthday of Garrett Hardin has been published using material from a symposium in Washington, DC several months ago, sponsored jointly by the Smithsonian Institution and the American Institute of Biological Sciences. Dr. Hardin has made significant contributions over the years to the population and environment debate.

The Festschrift features papers by such leading thinkers as Paul and Anne Ehrlich, Herman Daly, Carl Haub, John Holdren, Dan Luten, Carl Dahlman, Joseph Fletcher, Richard Lamm, Jack Parsons and Richard Stroup. There is a brief biography by Carl Bajema, and Dr. Hardin's talk at the symposium: "Thoughts After Forty Years in the Trenches."

Collected and issued as a special double-sized issue of the journal *Population and Environment* edited by Virginia Abernethy and published by Human Sciences Press, the Festschrift is available at a cost of $10 postpaid from: *The Social Contract*, 316½ E. Mitchell St., Petoskey, MI 49770.

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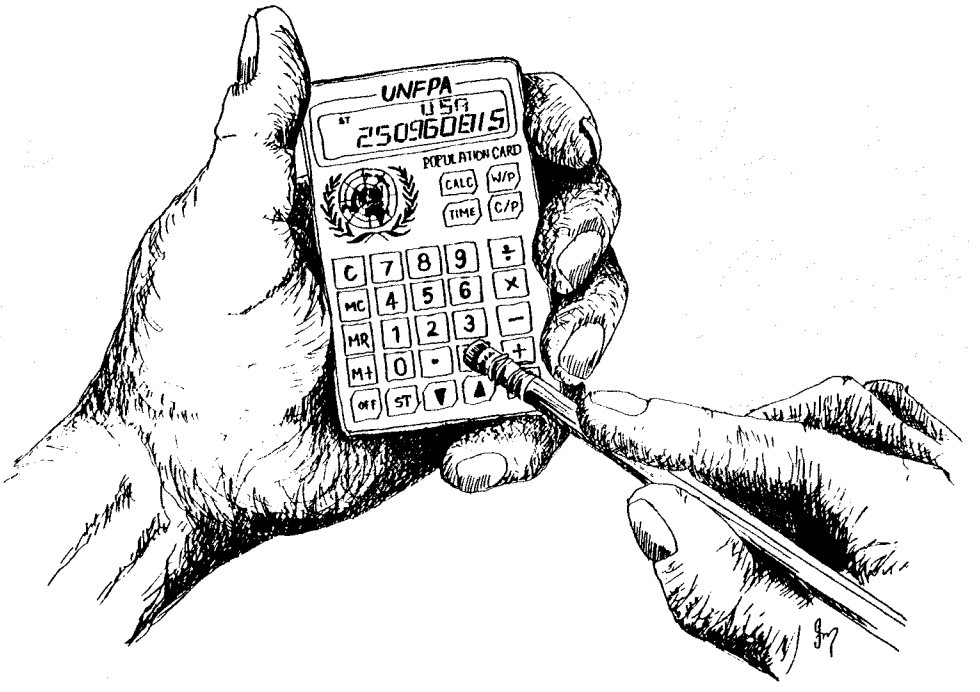

THE UN POPULATION CARD

By John M. Tanton

I have found the *Population Card* produced by the United Nations Fund for Population Activities to be a good device for highlighting the rapid increase of world population. At the beginning of a talk I can share the estimated world population for that time and then, since the card updates itself every minute, I can share the amount of increase during the course of my remarks.

As the literature that comes with the card indicates, "the global population exceeded five billion in 1987 and is expected to increase to 6.2 billion by the end of the century. Nearly 90 percent of this increase will take place in developing countries.... Combined with rapid urbanization, the rapid population growth generates unprecedented demands for more services in terms of food, clothing, housing, education, health and employment as well as environmental protection."

Driven by a tiny battery, the *Population Card* calculates and displays the estimated population of the world, or of any one of 165 countries programmed into it, at any point in time between the years 1989 and 2020. It fits easily into pocket or purse and is handy as a clock, calendar and calculator.

One example for its use can be found in relation to Dr. Hardin's article about Bangladesh on page 197 of this journal. One turns the card on by pushing "C/P" for country population. After reading the figure for the US, the "down arrow" is pushed until the country "BGD" appears. Push "enter" and the estimated current figure is posted for Bangladesh. One minute later that figure changes by "6". If we move over to the "calculator" mode and multiply 6, times 60, times 24, we realize that there are 8640 estimated births in 24 hours. It would take about 17 days to add 150,000 persons.

The *Population Card* can be obtained for $21 postpaid from: UN Population Fund, File PCMFSO-Population Card, 220 East 42nd Street, New York, NY 10017.

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